

THE
NATIONAL
QUARTERLY REVIEW.

EDITED BY

EDWARD I. SEARS, LL.D.

Pulchrum est bene facere reipublicæ, etiam bene dicere haud absurdum est.

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EDWARD I. SEARS, EDITOR AND PROPRIETOR,
658 BROADWAY.

GENERAL AGENTS :

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ROW. PARIS : VICTOR ALEXI,
19 RUE DU MAIL.

1874.

THE Singer Sewing Machines.

Statistics of Sewing Machine Sales For 1873.

The SINGER MANUFACTURING COMPANY Sold 232,444 Machines.

Wheeler & Wilson Manufacturing Company	119,190
Domestic Sewing Machine Company	40,114
Grover Baker Sewing Machine Company	36,179
Weed Sewing Machine Company	21,769
Wilson Sewing Machine Company	21,247
Howe Machine Company	No returns.
Gold Medal Sewing Machine Company	16,431
Wilcox & Gibbs Sewing Machine Company	15,881
Amer. B. H. & Sewing Machine Company	14,182
B. P. Howe Sewing Machine Company	13,919
Remington Empire Sewing Machine Company	9,183
Florence Sewing Machine Company	8,960
Davis Sewing Machine Company	8,861
Victor Sewing Machine Company	7,446
Blees Sewing Machine Company	3,458
Secor Sewing Machine Company	3,430
Ætna. J. E. Braunsdorf & Co.	3,081
Bartram & Fanton Manufacturing Company	1,000
Centennial Sewing Machine Company	514
Keystone Sewing Machine Company	217

The table of Sewing Machine Sales for 1873 shows that our sales last year amounted to **232,444** (two hundred and thirty-two thousand four hundred and forty-four) Machines, being a large increase over the sales of the previous year (1872).

The table also shows that our sales **Exceed those of any other Company**, for the period named, by the number of **113,254 Machines**, or nearly double those of any other Company.

It may be further stated that the sales of 1873, as compared with those of 1872, show a relatively larger increase, beyond the sales of other makers, than of any other year.

For instance, in 1872 we sold 45,000 more Machines than any other Company, whereas, in 1873, the sales were

113,254 Machines in Excess of our Highest Competitor.

These figures are all the more remarkable for the reason that the sales of the principal companies in 1873 are **LESS THAN THEIR SALES IN 1872**, whereas, as has been shown, **OUR SALES HAVE LARGELY INCREASED**.

The account of sales is from the returns made to the owners of the Sewing Machine Patents.

It will hardly be denied that the superiority of the **SINGER MACHINES** is fully demonstrated—at all events that their popularity in the household is unquestionable.

The Singer Manufacturing Company,
No. 34 UNION SQUARE, New York.





Wesleyan University.

In beauty and healthfulness of location, in thoroughness of scholarship, and in the power of moral influences, this Institution presents unusual advantages.

The MODERN LANGUAGES, EXPERIMENTAL CHEMISTRY, special instruction in ELOCUTION, and a wide range of scientific studies, form a part of the regular college course.

A well appointed LABORATORY offers unusual facilities for the study of Chemistry. All the students have opportunity to make experiments and to engage in practical works.

The physical and astronomical apparatus is ample, including a twelve-inch refracting telescope made by Alvan Clark, Esq., a spectroscope of high dispersive power, etc., etc. The MUSEUM is arranged with reference to the wants of students, and is open to all. Special students in natural history are allowed the use of specimens.

The ZOOLOGICAL, GEOGRAPHICAL, MINERALOGICAL, and BOTANICAL collections are large and valuable.

The LIBRARY contains 25,000 volumes, and is steadily increasing from the income of \$27,600. About 100 leading American and foreign periodicals are furnished in the reading-room. The GYMNASIUM is furnished with complete apparatus, heavy and light.

Expenses are very low, and no student of ordinary ability, tact and energy need fail to obtain a college education.

More than \$8,000 are annually given away in free tuition.

For further information address the President,

REV. JOSEPH CUMMINGS, LL.D.,

MIDDLETOWN, CONN.

Norwich University

MILITARY COLLEGE, ESTABLISHED IN 1834.

REV. MALCOLM DOUGLASS, D.D., President.

NORWICH UNIVERSITY is situated about ten miles south of Montpelier, in the quiet and attractive village of Northfield, Vermont, where comparatively few temptations invite to idleness and dissipation. The position is pleasant, easy of access by means of the Central Vermont Railroad, and is very healthy.

THE UNIVERSITY, by her works for nearly forty years past, and more lately by her extraordinary contribution of educated Officers during the War, has earned a title to the generous confidence of the public.

The course of instruction embraces the usual studies of a liberal education, while her Charter makes Civil Engineering and Military Science a distinguishing feature.

To all those who desire for their sons a right training of the head and heart, and desire also to unite with it the Physical and Moral benefits of a THOROUGH MILITARY EDUCATION, DISCIPLINE and DRILL, under the most favorable circumstances, and with surroundings of the most wholesome influence, NORWICH UNIVERSITY presents her claims.

Candidates for the Freshman Class must be able to stand a satisfactory Examination in Common Arithmetic, English Grammar, Reading, Writing and Spelling; in Algebra through Equations of the Second Degree, and in the History of the United States.

The usual Collegiate requirements for admission to the Freshman class will be expected in the Classical Department. Provision is made in the Preparatory Department for Elementary instruction in Latin and Greek, with a view to entering the *Freshman* year.

TERMS AND VACATIONS.

Summer Term, 1874, begins Thursday, April 9, and closes June 25, followed by the Summer vacation of ten weeks. Fall Term of 1874-5 begins September 3, and closes November 26, followed by five weeks vacation. Winter term begins December 31, and closes March 26. Vacation of two weeks. Summer Term begins April 9, and closes July 1.

EXPENSES.

The charge, in gross, for Tuition, Board, Fuel, Lights and Room Rent, and the use of Arms and Equipments, \$300.00 per school year. For further information, address

Prof. CHARLES DOLE,

NORTHFIELD, Vermont.

NORTHFIELD, Vt., September 1, 1874.

MANHATTAN COLLEGE,

(CHRISTIAN BROTHERS,)

NEW YORK CITY.

This Institution, incorporated and empowered to confer Degrees by the Regents of the University of the State of New York, offers many advantages to further the moral, intellectual, and physical development of students. The situation of the College is not surpassed in landscape beauty, or salubrity, by that of any similar institution in the country. It occupies an elevated position on the east bank of the Hudson, about eight miles from the City Hall.

TERMS :

Board, Washing, and Tuition, per session of ten months.....	\$300
Entrance Fee.....	10
Graduation Fee.....	10
Vacation at College.....	40

German, Spanish, Drawing, Music, and use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy, charged extra. School Books at current prices.

No student received for a shorter period than one term of five months. No deductions made when withdrawn during the term. The pocket-money of the student is deposited with the Treasurer.

Payment of half-session of five months in advance.

The sessions commence on the first Monday in September, and end about the 3d of July.

A public examination of the students is held at the end of the session, and gentlemen are invited to examine them then, and also during the class hours of term time.

FOR PARTICULARS SEE CATALOGUE.

PHYSICIAN'S FEE, - - - - - \$10.

REV. D. A. HOLBROOK'S

Military School

SING SING, N. Y.

This Institution, located about one mile
from the Village of Sing Sing,
aims to prepare boys for
College or for business.

For fuller information please send for Circular.

RUGBY ACADEMY,

1415 Locust St., Philadelphia.

This Academy was established nine years ago. The building in use is admirably situated for school purposes, having a central position in one of the best sections of the city of Philadelphia, and being, at the same time, removed from the undesirable surroundings and associations of the business centres.

The rooms are neatly and comfortably furnished, and are light, well ventilated, and, in every respect, commodious.

Aim of the School.

Pupils are prepared for business and professional life, for technical schools of high grade, or for honorable standing in college.

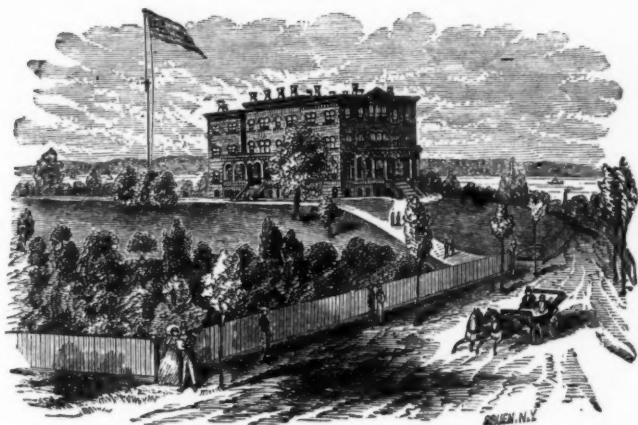
The course of instruction in the English branches is thorough, progressive, and complete. In this department critical attention is paid to Reading, Spelling, English Grammar, Penmanship, Composition, and the English branches generally, including Natural Science. The aim is to teach these subjects thoroughly and by the best methods.

The course pursued in the Classical Department is designed to secure a complete preparation for college. Pupils are fitted for any college or university that may be designated, inasmuch as the course of preparatory study is chosen with reference to those colleges which are most strict and exacting in their examination of candidates.

French and German are taught by native instructors.

Both in the English and Classical courses great prominence is given to the Mathematics. The training to which students are subjected in this branch is careful and thorough, every rule being challenged, and every process traced to its fundamental principles in axioms and definitions.

For Catalogues, address the Principal, EDWARD CLARENCE SMITH, A. M., or call at the Academy.



RIVERVIEW ACADEMY,

OVERLOOKING THE HUDSON RIVER

—AT—

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

The attention of intelligent persons is called to the advantages furnished at RIVERVIEW ACADEMY for the education of Boys.

The training in this Academy is claimed to be superior for awakening the enthusiasm and dormant energies of such pupils as have failed to find much interest in study or school exercises generally, while to the studious and diligent it furnishes such recreation in its well-organized military exercises as is calculated to insure continuance of bodily health without interfering with study.

While there is no design to magnify the military part unduly, nor to train boys to become soldiers, it is, nevertheless, found that as an instrument, as it were, of discipline, it is invaluable. Its products are attention, erectness of form, graceful carriage, confidence without arrogance—in short, a large part of the sum of those graces that make men acceptable in society, and useful in the world.

It is claimed that, in morals and behavior, boys are as well off as they are in good homes, and far better than in many. Many parents are not in circumstances to give proper and needed attention to their boys. To such this Academy offers its careful supervision and training.

For circulars and other information address the Proprietor and Principal,

OTIS BISBEE.

Rock Hill College,

MARYLAND,

Conducted by the Christian Brothers.

This Institution is situated upon a rising ground, in one of the healthiest and most picturesque portions of the State, and within a few minutes' walk of the Ellicott City Railroad Station.

It affords rare facilities to the student who would pursue a Commercial, Classical, or Scientific course.

While proper care is bestowed on every subject taught in the College, our own language receives special attention. The daily exercises of the students in Grammar, Composition, and Rhetoric are publicly discussed and corrected in the class-room. The English classics are read with all the attention bestowed on a Latin or Greek author; words, idioms, striking expressions and historical allusions are dwelt upon in the spirit of sound criticism and philology.

For particulars see Catalogue.

TERMS:

Board, Washing and Tuition.....	\$260 00
Entrance Fee.....	10 00
Physician's Fee.....	6 00
Graduating Fee.....	5 00
Vacation at College.....	40 00
Piano, \$60; Guitar, Violin and Flute, each.....	40 00
Drawing.....	30 00

Books and Stationery at current prices.

BRO. BETTELIN, President.

MOUNT PLEASANT

Military Academy,

A BOYS' BOARDING SCHOOL,

AT

Sing Sing, on the Hudson.

This Institution, founded in 1832, has long been widely and favorably known.

The location is unsurpassed in beauty and healthfulness; the grounds are ample and attractive; the buildings neat and commodious.

The corps of teachers embraces six resident teachers, three visiting teachers, and three lecturing professors.

There are five graded classes in the Regular Course of study, and parallel courses in the Latin, Greek, French, and German languages. Instruction in Penmanship, English Composition, Elocution, and Vocal Music is given to every member of the School.

It is believed that ample provision is made for every department of study, and for the proper moral and physical care and training of the young.

For further particulars, address the PRINCIPAL,

J. HOWE ALLEN,

Sing Sing, N. Y.

Reference is made to the following well-known gentlemen, whose sons have been on the Roll of Cadets, during the present and past years:

Hon. J. W. STEVENSON, U. S. Senate, Covington, Ky.

Hon. R. C. PARSONS, M. C., Cleveland, Ohio

Hon. W. WALTER PHELPS, M.C., Englewood, New Jersey.

Alderman J. J. MORRIS, - New York City.

Col. FRANK E. HOWE, - " "

Hon. WILLIAM A. DARLING, Pres't Murray Hill Bank, N. Y. City.

ADDISON SMITH, Esq., Pres't Harlem Bank.

Hon. EDMUND RICE, - St. Paul, Minn.

OLIVER PERIN, Esq., Pres't 3d Nat'l Bank, Cincinnati, Ohio.

GEO. ARMOUR, Esq., - Chicago, Ills.

WM. McKNIGHT, Esq., - Pittsburg, Pa.

Dr. J. W. S. CLEMENTS, - New York City.

GEO. A. FELLOWS, Esq., - " "

F. C. HAVEMEYER, Esq., - " "

L. M. THORN, Esq., - " "

H. KNICKERBOCKER, - " "

Rev. WILSON PHRANER, - Sing Sing, N. Y.

COLLEGE

OF THE

Christian Brothers,

ST. LOUIS, MO., 1872.

This Literary Institution possesses all the advantages of an agreeable and healthy location, easy of access, being situated on a rising ground a little to the south-west of the Pacific Railroad terminus in the city of St. Louis, Missouri. It was founded in 1851 by the Brothers of the Christian Schools, incorporated in 1855 by the State Legislature, and empowered to confer degrees and academical honors. However favorable the auspices under which it commenced its literary career, its progress since has surpassed all anticipation. Growing equally in public confidence and in the number of students, it has gone on extending its reputation. Repeated additions have been made to the original buildings. The number of students received within the last year amounted to more than 600, and many applicants were refused admission for want of room.

Every possible attention is paid to whatever can contribute to the health and happiness of its inmates—ventilation, cleanliness, spacious halls, dormitories, refectory, recreation halls for cold or damp weather, etc., etc.

The various arts and sciences usually taught in colleges find here an appropriate place in a system of education established by experience, conducted on the most approved plan, and with a devotedness commensurate with the greatness of the work engaged in. By reason of the great number of classes, a thorough gradation for all capacities and acquirements has been attained, and the frequent examinations and promotions beget emulation, the soul of advancement, making labor a pleasure and success certainty.

The course of instruction pursued in the Academy is divided into three departments: the primary, the intermediate, and the collegiate. There is, besides, an exclusively commercial course, offering rare advantages to young gentlemen who intend to make business their profession. It is divided into three classes, in which the chief place is given to instruction in Book-keeping, Arithmetic, Geography and History, Business Forms and Correspondence, Epistolary Composition, Penmanship, etc., with Lectures on Commercial Law, Political Economy, etc. Diplomas can be obtained in the Commercial Department by such as merit that distinction.

The session commences on the last Monday in August, and ends about the 3d of July, with an annual public examination and distribution of premiums, and the conferring of degrees and academical honors.

On the completion of the course the degree of A. B. is conferred upon such students as, on examination, are found worthy of that distinction. The degree of A. M. can be obtained by graduates of the first degree after two years devoted to some scientific or literary pursuit, their moral character remaining unexceptionable.

The government is a union of mildness and firmness, energy and kindness, a blending of paternal solicitude with fraternal sympathy; the results of which are contentment, good order, and happiness. The morals and general deportment of the students are constantly watched over: Brothers preside at their recreations, and their comfort and personal habits receive every attention.

TERMS.

Entrance Fee	\$8 00
Board and Tuition, per session.....	250 00
Washing.....	20 00
Physician's Fee	8 00
For Half Boarders.....	100 00
For Day Scholars.....	60 00
In the Senior Class.....	40 00
Vacation at the Institution.....	40 00

Music, Drawing, and the use of apparatus in the study of Chemistry and Natural Philosophy form extra charges.

N.B.—Payments semi-annually and invariably in advance.

No deduction for absence, except in case of protracted illness or dismissal.

. No extra charges for the study of the German, French, and Spanish languages.

Mr. Selleck's School,

NORWALK, CONN.

The course of study presented at this school is embraced mainly under two departments, viz.: Collegiate and Commercial; the former offering facilities for the prosecution of all the studies necessary to a complete preparation for college; the latter intended to answer the requirements of those who may desire a thorough knowledge of the subjects best calculated to meet the demands of business life.

In addition to the two departments as above, there is also a general course of study. This is designed to subserve the interests of those who are too young or not sufficiently qualified to enter either of the regular departments; also of those whose parents, disinclined to mark out in advance any specific line of study, prefer that the course ultimately to be pursued should depend upon taste or talent developed by time and culture; or of those who wish to enter neither of the regular divisions of the school, but desire to pursue only general branches of study.

The discipline of the School is mild, yet efficient. An appeal to the pupil's honor and sense of right is always made; proper inducements offered; sympathy between tutor and pupil fostered; confidence encouraged. The Principal's efforts in this direction have generally been successful. Youth insensible to these influences—if, indeed, such can be found—the school, probably, would fail to benefit.

The School is situated in Norwalk, Connecticut. This place, bordering on Long Island Sound, is on the line of the New York and New Haven Railroad, about forty-four miles from New York, with which city there is frequent communication.

For Catalogues address

Rev. C. M. SELLECK, A. M., Principal,

Norwalk, Conn.

Gannett Institute,

BOSTON, MASS.,

FOR YOUNG LADIES.

Twenty-three Professors and Teachers.

In Instruction, Location, etc., unsurpassed by any American Female College.

In the Boarding Department young ladies enjoy all the comforts and advantages of a

Pleasant and Cultivated Home,

and receive whatever care and guardianship may be required.

The Twenty-first Year will begin Wednesday, September 23d, 1874.

For Catalogue and Circular apply to

Rev. GEORGE GANNETT,

PRINCIPAL,

69 Chester Square, Boston, Mass



POUGHKEEPSIE FEMALE ACADEMY,

REV. D. G. WRIGHT, A. M., RECTOR.

This School is in the beautiful City of Poughkeepsie, midway between Albany and New York, on the banks and amid the enchanting scenery of the Hudson. For ease of access, by railroad and steamboat; for healthfulness of climate, both in summer and winter; for literary and refined society, and numerous educational, moral and religious institutions, the location is not surpassed in this country.

The Academy is under the supervision of the Regents of the University of New York. Its teachers, in the several departments, are accomplished and experienced; and the facilities for acquiring a thorough and finished education are second to none in the land; while every effort is made to have this a

*Refined, Christian, and Happy Home for the
Young Ladies.*

Honors and Prizes are awarded; also, a DIPLOMA given to each pupil who completes the course of study, by authority of the Regents.

For Circulars, please address the Rector,

Rev. D. G. WRIGHT, A. M.,
Or, H. D. VARICK,

Secretary of Trustees,

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

FORT EDWARD
COLLEGIATE INSTITUTE,

A Boarding Seminary for Both Sexes,

Situated on the Hudson, and accessible by Rensselaer and Saratoga Railroad.

Superb Brick Buildings.

FIFTEEN PROFESSORS AND TEACHERS.

Furnishing the Ablest Instruction in the Higher Branches, as well as Teaching Thoroughly, but at no Extra Cost to the Pupil,

All the Common Branches.

ACCOMMODATIONS ADEQUATE AND REALLY COMFORTABLE

Provided at Honest, Living Rates, so as not to exclude such as *having brains* are yet obliged to *economize* in order to cultivate them.

Adult students permitted to select any three studies, or they may pursue a

GRADUATE'S COURSE,

Classical, Scientific, College-Preparatory, Commercial, or Eclectic.

Hundreds have graduated in these Courses.

GOOD SPEAKING AND WRITING MADE PROMINENT.

PRIZES EACH TERM.

FOUR LITERARY SOCIETIES.

The Institute is thoroughly Christian but non-sectarian.

Spring Term, March 19. Twenty-first Academic Year begins August 27, 1874.

Address for Catalogues,

JOS. E. KING, D. D.,

Fort Edward, N. Y.

Mlle. ROSTAN'S

ENGLISH AND FRENCH

Boarding and Day School,

FOR

YOUNG LADIES,

No. 31 West 52d Street,

Near 5th Ave. and Central Park,

Will Re-open Wednesday, September 24.

A thorough English course, with unsurpassed facilities for acquiring a practical knowledge of the FRENCH and other modern languages.

HOME COMFORTS AND HOME PRIVILEGES

Are the distinguishing features of this School.

THE MUSICAL DEPARTMENT,

UNDER THE DIRECTION OF

Prof. S. B. MILLS,

And other Instructors of acknowledged talent,

offers peculiar advantages to those who desire to make Music a special study.

All Communications to be addressed as above, till September, when Mlle. ROSTAN will be at home to receive applications herself.

MLLE. TARDIVEL'S
ENGLISH, FRENCH, AND LATIN
Boarding and Day School
FOR YOUNG LADIES AND CHILDREN,
25 West 46th Street, New York.

The object of this Institution is to give a thorough education to the Young Ladies and Children of the First Families.

The course of instruction is not only full but embraces many subjects not usually taught.

All the modern languages are taught by native Professors of acknowledged ability. The study of Latin is optional.

Unsurpassed facilities for the study of French are offered, insuring to the pupil as speedy and thorough an acquisition of the language as can be had in Paris. It is the invariable medium of conversation.

The classes of Rhetoric, of Literature and of Science are entrusted to professors of eminence.

The classes in Solfège and in Drawing are in the charge of artists of name and of position.

Special Professors and Teachers are engaged for each study. This expense is justified by the fact that pupils make better progress when studying under a professor who teaches only his specialty.

The accommodations afforded boarders are unequalled.* Mlle. TARDIVEL makes her home attractive and comfortable for them, and when with her she is sure that they are surrounded by those wholesome restraints which are essential to their safety and happiness.

The School Hours are from 9 A. M. to 1 30 P. M. ; but Day Scholars who wish to remain throughout the day can be provided with dinner, have the use of the Study Room, take the daily walk with the Boarders, and return home at the close of the day, free from all School Duties.

The House is spacious, beautifully furnished, and well supplied with all the modern conveniences. The situation is central and select.

Cottage Hill Seminary,

FOR YOUNG LADIES,

POUGHKEEPSIE, N. Y.

C. O. WETSELL, - - - - Proprietor and Principal.

This School offers to pupils superior advantages in the Common and Higher English Branches, Ancient and Modern Languages, and in Music and the Fine Arts.

No teachers are employed except those who have had successful experience in teaching, and who are thoroughly competent.

The course of instruction is comprehensive, including all the branches usually taught in first-class Ladies' Seminaries.

Music and the Fine Arts are made a SPECIALTY, and are taught by true Artists, of acknowledged ability.

Only native teachers give instruction in the Modern Languages.

For further information address the Principal.

SESSIONS, RECESSES AND VACATIONS.

The School year commences the third Wednesday in September, and closes the third Wednesday in June.

Sessions commence the third Wednesday in September, and the first Wednesday in February.

Quarters commence the last Wednesday in November, and the third Wednesday in April.

There will be two short intermissions during the year, at the holidays and in the spring.

REFERENCES:

- Rev. J. H. Raymond, LL.D., President Vassar College.
 Prof. C. S. Farrer, A.M., Vassar College.
 Prof. T. J. Backus, A.M., Vassar College.
 Rev. A. P. Van Gieson, D.D., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Rev. J. Elmendorf, D.D., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Rev. C. D. Rice, A.M., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Rev. Laurens Hickok, D.D., ex-President of Union College, Amherst, Mass.
 Rev. Henry Darling, D.D., 771 Broadway, Albany, N. Y.
 Rev. E. Wentworth, D.D., Editor Ladies' Repository, Cincinnati, O.
 Rev. Ransom B. Welch, D.D., LL.D., Union College, Schenectady, N. Y.
 Rev. Anson J. Upson, D.D., Albany, N. Y.
 Rev. Francis B. Wheeler, D.D., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Rev. P. R. Hauxhurst, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Rev. J. N. Croker, Saratoga Springs, N. Y.
 Hon. H. G. Eastman, LL.D., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 J. B. Andrews, M.D., Lunatic Asylum, Utica, N. Y.
 Charles B. Warring, A.M., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 L. J. Mulford, Esq., No. 1 Bond Street, N. Y.
 J. S. Van Cleaf, Esq., Attorney-at-Law, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 Tristram Coffin, Esq., Attorney-at-Law, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 A. O. Kellogg, M.D., Hudson River State Hospital, Poughkeepsie, N. Y.
 A. B. Smith, Esq., P. M., Poughkeepsie, N. Y.

Chegaray Institute, Boarding & Day School for Young Ladies & Misses.

(ESTABLISHED BY MADAME CHEGARAY, IN NEW YORK, 1814.)

1527 and 1529 Spruce Street, Philadelphia,

WILL RE-OPEN

On Monday, September 21.

MADAME D'HERVILLY, Principal.

The Institute is admirably located in the upper part of the city. The buildings, to which a large garden is attached, are spacious and elegant. No pains or expense have been spared to make of the Institute a comfortable and attractive home.

The Course of Instruction is comprehensive and thorough, embracing the Latin, English and French Languages and Literatures, and all the branches which constitute a finished English and French education. Each department is under the charge of experienced teachers and professors.

French is the language of the family, and is constantly spoken in the Institute.

Care is not only taken to improve the moral and intellectual faculties of the pupils, but also to secure a healthful development of the physical system by a regular course of daily exercises.

The young ladies are strictly educated in the religion of their parents, and attend their own church, accompanied by one of the resident teachers.

The great extravagance in dress of the present time being an evil which Madame D'Hervilly is anxious to remedy, parents are respectfully requested to provide their daughters with wardrobes suitable for school girls.

Particular attention is paid to dignity of manner and graceful bearing, and the general training of the young ladies is such as is calculated to render them not only useful members of society, but the ornament of any sphere of life they may be called upon to fill.

THE
NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW.

No. LVIII.

SEPTEMBER, 1874.

Art. I.—1. *Histoire de l'École d'Alexandria.* PAR JULES
SIMON. Paris.

2. *Fragments philosophiques.* COUSIN.

3. *De l'Écletisme.* PAR PIERRE LEROUX.

4. *Tableau des progrès humaines.* NOURRISSON. Paris.

5. *De concordia rationis et Fidei.* HUET.

THE most general law of modern science, perhaps, and the one which results from the most wide and exhaustive induction of our experience, is the connection of all things, contemporaneous as well as successive. The whole of what we know, and the whole of what there is outside of our knowledge—as far as our knowledge points to a totality of things—appears to be connected as a unity, forming, in fact, but one substance and one existent reality. In the separation, multiplicity, and individuality in which we find things in our experience, we cannot say that any of them are complete existences in themselves—that is, that any single thing is a whole thing or full substance. Everything is connected with something else, and not only with something else, but with everything else. The book which lies before us is connected with the table on

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which it rests, and the ground beneath to which it tends. The law of attraction binds it to every other particle of the earth, and to the sun, and to all other matter in the known universe. Apart from these connections, we cannot say that it is anything at all, or that it has any property complete; and with them it is far more than it seems as in itself here present. In other words, nothing fully exists but the whole, the parts being but partial existences, which have no self-substantial reality; so that we must group all the contents of all space before we can get one particle of matter, with its connections and infinitely radiating lines of force.

And not only has thus everything its connection with other things, or its connection through space; but it has likewise its connection through time. This book has had its history, and it will have its destiny. It has had its cause, or its causes, reaching back indefinitely and in all directions, and it will have its effects. The law of causality binds all things in the infinite past, as well as in the infinite future, together; just as the law of gravitation binds all things in the infinite present together. Nothing is what it is now, because it does not remain the same a single instant, and has in itself the seeds of the change which it is undergoing. It does not exist, but presents a passing appearance, in such a way that whereas it a little while ago was one thing, it is now a different thing. It is constantly going on to be something else. To know what a thing is, therefore, we must not take it at any one time, but take it through all time—take up the sum of its changes and seek the totality of the thing through the totality of the changes through which it has passed and will pass. In other words, we must sum up all time to get the thing, things being extended in time as well as in space.

This connection of all things, through space and through time, by attraction and by causality, is nothing more than we should legitimately infer from the law of evolution, according to which the known universe has been produced, and according to which our earth and all that is in it have received form and character and successive changes. In other words,

we have in the origin of the world and of our system, according to the nebular hypothesis, the reason of the connection of things, and an indication of a more general connection than our experience furnishes, the nebular hypothesis serving to correlate our *à priori* speculations with the facts of our observation in this matter. According to this law, the law of evolution—that is, according to the generally received interpretation of the origin of the earth and of its contents—all things were originally one, a homogeneous mass, an undistinguishable inqualitative unity. It is nothing more, then, than natural to suppose that after all its changes, the changes by which the earth and all in it have been produced, they would still remain one and connected. The original mass, as we conceive it in our ultimate speculations, was a nebular atmosphere charged with force, or in motion. That atmosphere and that motion have been the substance and the force out of which all things now existing have been evolved. We have no occasion to suppose either other materials or other power. Since, therefore, the original homogeneous nebula has developed into the present world, and differentiated into the lands and seas, and rocks and trees, and animals and men, and into their motions and thoughts, it is nothing more than to be expected that these all are equivalent to that original mass and its motion, and that if collected all together they would express the equality of what the nebula was in the first place, and preserve a continual equation with it at every period during its changes. In other words, that there has been in this changing only a correlation of the matter and forces originally existing, and that these now express themselves, instead of in clouds, and heat, and rain, and fogs, partly in the living and moving things of the earth, and germinally in the future phases that the earth and its objects are to present. In other words, the original unity, when all things were together, has become now a great diversity, in which the whole has been preserved, but which shows itself in different and scattered forms, nothing having been lost, nothing added, and nothing in its ultimate character changed.

Since, now, all this present state results from a past state, this diversified from a simple state, it is natural that the present diversity should have lines of connection through it to express the past unity, and that the present connection, whether manifested in gravity or causality, whether in chemical or animal affinity, whether in magnetism or emotional inclination, should only express the original motion to which it is due, and which, although expanded in diversity, has yet been preserved in and between the diversified forms. Things being originally one, they have simply remained so, not, indeed, in form or coherency of mass, but in connection between the parts if separated, and between the particles if united, a connection which holds them together through space, and that works on them as cause and effect through time. So that, however far things may get apart, and however different they may become, they will not get out of unity, or become anything else than what the original force makes them, or than what is an equivalent of the original force. When, accordingly, we see that the sun is attracted to the earth, we must remember that they were once together; when we see that man is attracted to woman, we must remember that they were once together; when we see that one element or atom has an affinity for another, we must remember that they were once together; in short, when we see anything possessing any connection with anything else, whether by attraction or cohesion, or love or tendency to growth or decay, or inclination to any other quality or form, we must interpret that it is a remnant of the old connection when they were once together.

Not to confine ourselves, however, to these general, and to some extent theoretical phases of the subject, we find if we examine our experience that all known facts are actually connected; so that what our pure speculations hint at *à priori*, we are also cognizant of in our actual observation.

Looking at the known world, we find, in the first place, that all geological facts are connected, and that they point to a connection or system of the whole of our globe and its forces. The seas and continents, and mountains and rivers, all

form systems; as also the oceanic, atmospheric, and electric currents; the distribution of rocks, and clays, and metals, and plants, and animals, etc.; all of which are interdependent, and form a greater system of the whole. We cannot understand one sea, one continent, or one kingdom of nature in itself. It does not exist in itself, but has its whole significance in the cluster of all.

The size, shape and contents of the eastern continent, for example, are determined by those of the western; the same laws which produced both having produced in each a series of correspondences and parallelisms. The outline of North America, for example, corresponds to that of Asia; the outline of South America to that of Africa; and the outline of Alaska to that of Europe; and if we take into consideration the basin of the ocean in the neighborhood of each of these, the correspondence runs to very minute detail. For example, in comparing the configuration of North America with that of Asia, we observe that Lower California answers to Arabia; the Gulf of California to the Persian Gulf and the Arabian Sea; Mexico to Hindoostan; the Gulf of Mexico to the Bay of Bengal; Florida to the Peninsula of Siam and Malaca; the West Indies to Sumatra, Java, Borneo, and the Celebes Islands; the Gulf of Savannah to the Gulf of Tonquin and the China Sea; Massachusetts Bay to the Yellow Sea; Nova Scotia to Corea; the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the Sea of Japan; Newfoundland to the Japan Islands; the projection of Labrador to that of Manchuria; Davis Straits and Baffin's Bay to the Sea of Okhotsk; and Greenland to Kamtchatka and the western point of Siberia.

In like manner, if we examine the configuration of Alaska as compared with that of Europe, we will find Lake Esquimaux and Hutchins Bay answering to the White Sea; Point Barrow to Lapland; Point Hope to Sweden and Norway; Kotzebue Sound to the North and Baltic Sea; Cape Prince of Wales to the projection of Belgium and France; Norton Sound to the Bay of Biscay; the southwest end of Alaska to Spain; Alaska Island and Peninsula to Sardinia and Corsica; and

Tchongatchis Peninsula to Italy. The mountain ranges and water courses of these two continents are likewise the same, both with reference to their position, the character of the surrounding lands and the depths of the adjoining oceans; and like similarities, too, we could show in every other respect between the eastern and western hemispheres. The northern and southern continents also show the same parallelisms. Comparing them, for example, with reference to their mountain and water courses, which two courses in all countries run parallel, we find that the Rocky Mountains of North America correspond to the Andes of South America, the Alleghanies to the Highlands of Eastern Brazil, the St. Lawrence to the Amazon River, the Mississippi to the La Platte; showing that the same laws at work to produce the several continents have produced them after the same plan, and made them present a like contour. Almost every group of islands in the eastern hemisphere has its corresponding group in the western, arranged in the same order, and corresponding in minute details of number, size, position and proximity to the lands and seas. The islands of Sumatra and Java, with the rest of the Dutch East Indies, correspond in form, size and relative position with the West Indies; and as the former stretch off in a southeasterly direction from the Malayan Peninsula, so the latter stretch off in a southeasterly direction from the peninsula of Florida. So the Azore Islands in the eastern hemisphere correspond with the Sandwich Islands in the western. The same groups, likewise, in the northern hemisphere, have their corresponding groups in the southern, the New Caledonian Islands, for example, corresponding with the Western Islands.

Not to continue unnecessarily comparisons of this kind, we observe, in the next place, that it is the same also through time. The same forces which are now in operation in the world are those which have heretofore been in operation, and produced the world in its present aspects. The present subterranean fires, volcanoes, and earthquakes, the chalk deposits now being made in the beds of the sea, and the descent of the glaciers

and icebergs, are the same agencies, or a continuance of the same, as those which heaved up the mountains and sunk down the ocean beds, that made the igneous phenomena or the strata in the rocks, whose formation we attribute to other ages. In other words, we find the forces now working in nature no other than those which worked in past geological ages, and formed the earth into its present characteristics; they are a continuation of the most ancient forces which formed the world itself, and which are divided now into a thousand more minute and various kinds, forming one system together. In other words, the forces of the world form a system as well as do the lands, and seas and rocks, and the forces of the present form a system with those of the past; just as the materials of the present do with those of the past. The same we see, too, if we look at the various species which the plants and animals present. These all show themselves to have been formed from the same originals, on the same plan, by the same courses, and according to the same laws, notwithstanding all the different minutiae which distinguish them. And not only so, but they show such a connection with each other, that when all the existing species of animals are seen together, as in the Zoölogical Cabinet of Berlin, where they are classified according to the Darwinian, and not according to the Agassiz theory—that is, according to their successive genesis, and not according to their present differences—it appears with irresistible force, that one kind has passed by almost insensible gradations into another, showing an unbroken continuation of the biological forces and forms of the earth, and their connection with the vegetable, chemical and mechanical forces. No breaks are in the chain, no stoppages in the force. Neither the Darwinians nor their opponents admit a possible development where there are missing links such as now separate the species; so that while the Darwinians say the missing links are merely lost, and the others that they were never filled by individuals, the great fact still appears of the connection of all the animals and plants in a system, and of the unbroken succession of the forces which have pro-

duced them, which forces are but the outgrowth of the original quantum of force which is recognized in the earliest geological ages, and still more distantly in the cosmical nebula.

Again, we find this connection no less marked and no less minute in historical facts, they following from the same forces and according to the same laws as the geological facts, being the outgrowth of the same matter and the same original motive. If we look at the general outlines and at the details of history we shall find that what men have done in all ages and in all countries presents systems; systems as ages, as nations, and as a whole. These systems, whether of to-day or of all time and all countries, are no less marked and no less unerring in following general laws than are the systems of rivers and mountains, and winds, and flora and fauna, and individual growth of plants and animals. In other words, we find all the acts of men connected in a kingdom together, and in one kingdom of the whole; and not only all their acts, but all their wishes and ideals; and we find them all to be the outgrowth and expression of the original force and substance of the cosmos, as far as this force and substance come under our cognizance.

To pursue this connection more specifically we find, in the first place, that all historical facts are connected with the geological. Even when they are distinct, and when we distinguish the earth from man, we yet find them running in parallel courses, and man guided by the forces of the earth. For example, the great civilizations of the earth have all followed the outlines of the cosmical advantages of climate, water-courses, wood, and defences of mountains, seas, etc. These we cannot here trace in anything like completeness of detail, and shall therefore indicate them only by way of example. Looking at them, then, first in connection with the distribution of heat, we find men first coming into history, as may naturally be expected, in the southern or warm latitudes, where life of all kinds was first produced, and where the earlier forms of life, being simplest, are most easily matured. Heat being the generator of life, and the cradle of its earlier

forms, this could not well be otherwise. But as the marshes and thick forest foliage of the tropics were luxuriant with animals and vegetation long before the mountain sides and temperate regions had begun their slow and complicated fauna and flora, the hot countries, and so the south, were the beginning of human as of natural history, the earliest deeds of men being performed on the spot of their origin. We accordingly find men first entering into history in Africa and Southern Asia, in the islands of the South Seas, and in Peru and Mexico, in company with, and scarcely removed from, the great ferns and gorillas which in those parts they still resemble, because not yet developed from their original simplicity and rudeness. Here, we say, there was accordingly a sort of precocious society and civilization which first entered into history and is handed down to us in tradition. This is the first general fact.

And not only so, but we find, in the next place, that, although the southern or warm climates are most favorable for the earlier germs and the simpler forms of life and intellect, so that the south got the start of the north in civilization, it is only in the northern and more hardy climates that the conditions are favorable for the higher and later developments of life; so that as civilization advances and becomes more complicated, it necessarily goes northward. While, therefore, civilization could rise only in Africa and Southern Asia, and the islands of the South Seas, it could develop only in Europe and North America. We accordingly find the march of civilization to be steadily northward, through countries gradually rising in their latitude, colder in their temperature, and more complicated in their mental structure. First it is Egypt and Ethiopia that embrace the civilization of the world; then India; then China; then the Babylonian and Assyrian Empire; then the great Empire of the Medes and Persians; then that of the Syrians and Phœnicians; then Greece; then Rome; then the Italian Republics and Spain; then Austria; then France; and now Prussia, Russia, England and the United States, with a gradual tendency to the

northern sections even of those countries. And not only so, but in harmony with this northward movement, and running parallel with the course of the world's civilization, we find the northward course of the world's conquests; the conquest of the world successively by Persia, by Greece, by Rome, by Spain and Austria, by France, by Germany, and by Russia, England and the United States. And further, it has been in each case the conquest of the northern over the southward lying nations; the conquest of Persia over Medea; of Greece over Persia and the East; of Macedonia over Greece; of Rome over Carthage and Numidia; of the northern Italian nations over Rome; of the Frankish Empire over Italy; of Spain over the Moors; of Austria over Spain; of France over Austria; of the North German Confederation over South Germany; of Germany over France; of Russia over Poland and Central Asia; of England over India; of the United States over Mexico; and of the Northern American States over the Southern States. In short, the general course of the conquests has been of the northern nations over the southern, or of cold intellectuality and system over warm feeling and æsthetical spontaneity. And looking still closer at the personal history of these events, we find the same course mapped out for the appearance of the world's conquerors. It has been a successive appearance, more and more to the northward, of Cyrus, Alexander, Cæsar and Napoleon. And so, too, we might show that it has been a successive triumph of the northern over the southern laws, customs, religions and philosophies; that is, of the more scientific, organized and elaborate over the simple, intuitive, sensuous or ritualistic. In religion, for example, it has been the successive triumph of the Assyrian anthropomorphism over the Egyptian animalism, of Grecian ideal mythology over Eastern symbolism, of Christianity over Roman polytheism, of Mohammedanism over the fetishism of Paganism and of southern Christianity, of reformed Buddhism over Brahmanism, of Protestantism over Catholicism; and now, we may say, of rationalism and liberalism over dogmatism and ritualism.

Again, following the race with regard to the water courses, we find that the great civilizations have grown up along the rivers and streams, which, as affording fertility to the surrounding country, and means of navigation, have been the easiest and most natural channels of intercourse and traffic. Egypt grew up on the Nile, Babylon and Assyria on the Tigris and Euphrates, India on the Ganges, Rome on the Tibur, and the colonies of Rome on the Danube and the Rhine. For the same reason the sea coast countries have been the seat of the growth of empires; as India, China, the borders of Arabia, Egypt, Numidia, Asia Minor, Greece, Sicily, Italy, Spain, the British Isles, the coast lands of the North Sea—Holland, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Russia, etc., also Japan, the East Indies, etc. Civilization, moreover, first commenced and radiated about the Caspian Sea, and along the water courses of the Tigris and Euphrates regions, from which it spread to other coast lands; while interior and central Africa and Asia, and northern and central Europe long remained barbarous. We see the same influence of water in the spread and establishment of subsequent colonizations. In Europe, with its gulfs and bays, and endless coasts, there are many civilizations, whereas in Africa there are almost none, in Asia but few, and those on the islands and peninsulas, and in America but one; although the introduction of steam now lessens distance and enables the same civilization to sweep through greater plains and over loftier mountains, which a few centuries ago separated the civilizations in Europe, as also it enables the same civilization now to extend through central Russia and eastern Germany, as well as through the central part of the United States, and to unite the little kingdoms, which heretofore flourished as independent principalities, into great empires.

Again, the navigation of the world and the naval enterprise have been entirely by the coast countries, and particularly the narrow peninsulas and islands—Phœnicia, Rhodes, Carthage, Athens, Corinth, the Ionian Islands, Asia Minor, Sicily, Venice, Genoa, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Denmark,

Great Britain, the United States, etc.; whereas the more inland countries or mere river civilizations have been without maritime importance, as Assyria, Babylon, Egypt, Austria, Poland, Germany, Switzerland, Russia, etc.

Colonization illustrates the same law. This has been by the sea coast and commercial countries of Phœnicia, Greece, Sicily, Portugal, Spain, Holland, Denmark, Great Britain, etc. Emigration and the spread of the races is the same. The maritime country of Phœnicia settled Greece and Carthage; the coast country of Troy, according to the old tradition, settled Rome; the Phœceans settled France; the Saxons of North Germany settled Great Britain; the insular Danes and the Normans of the western coast of France conquered and settled Britain in turn; the Spanish and Portuguese settled South America and Mexico; the English settled North America and Australia; the Dutch settled the East Indies. When emigration has taken place by other than coast lands, and gone overland instead of by water, it has been to other inland countries, and been followed generally by the crushing out of civilization and the return of barbarism, as in the great immigrations from the eastern countries westward in prehistoric times, and in the period of the *Niebelungen Lied*, in the descent of the Goths on Rome, in the march of the Huns and Turks and Arabians over Europe, in the migration of the Franks into France, and in the descent of the Piets and Scots on England, etc.

But, again, as with the distribution of climate and of water, so it is with wood and mountains and every other geological condition; all go to map out the borders of the civilizations, and to determine their respective characteristics. For example, only those countries with natural defences, whether of mountains or water, could long maintain a distinct nationality or consecutive development, and this because protected thereby from inroads by the others; as, for example, Greece, with its mountains on the north, separating it from Europe, and with its seas on the east and south separating it from Asia and Africa; Rome under the shadow of the Apennines; Switzer-

land, Piedmont, and Tyrol in the Alps; the mountainous countries of Wales, Ireland, and Scotland, etc. In the Highlands of these last-named countries the people have continued to this day to resist the conquest of the Saxons and Normans, both in the peculiarities of their customs and in language. With its numerous mountain cantons Switzerland still offers as many separate nationalities as all the rest of Europe; and all the world cannot crush out its independence or its republicanism.

We might show also how the natural conditions make the peculiarities of each civilization—of the types, and occupations, and tastes, and opinions, and religions of the people; how the Italians, for example, under a strong sun and clear sky, are necessarily dark-complexioned, black eyed, black-haired, passionate, and Catholic; how the Danes, under an opposite zone, are light-haired, blue-eyed, intellectual, and Protestant; how the ancient Greeks, with their mines of marble, developed a noble architecture and sculpture, while the Assyrians and Egyptians, with their rough granite, developed only a hideous monstrosity of art; but this would carry us beyond the bounds of this article. A most interesting paper was read in the Anthropological section of the British Scientific Association last year showing that the parish boundaries of Yorkshire, England, follow the chalk and clay formations of the country, and that the position of the churches, the locations of the villages, the boundaries of the farms and pasture grounds, and even the sub-leases have been determined by the geological configuration. The same is true of the settlements in the western States of our own country, even to the position which the pioneer chooses for his house. Though the early settler does not understand the formations of rock and coal beneath him, yet in following the conveniences of healthy position, access to springs or wells, wood, drainage facilities, etc., he follows so invariably the geological formation, that the naturalist now going through the land can determine the subterranean formations from the position of the settlements, and can predict future towns and cities from a study of the geology of the country.

But again, not only are all historical facts connected with the geological, but they are likewise all connected with one another. Nothing historical is isolated from the rest, or out of the system of the whole. Nor is anything out of the chain of causes through time; but every rise of a nation, or policy of a government, or act of a king, or wish even of a private citizen, is to be explained in its relation to all the rest, both contemporary, and preceding and succeeding it. Each is but the manifestation of a force necessary at its time, and appropriate at its place. If, for example, we look at the Reformation of the sixteenth century, we shall find it connected not only in all its parts, but with every other event of that century, and the centuries bordering upon it. It was co-originate in the same great upheaval of social, political, scientific, and philosophic thought which produced at the same time a like reformation in every department of science and of life. For while in religion the age of the Reformation gave us the ecclesiastical systems of Germany, Zurich, Geneva and England, and gave us with them Luther, and Zwingli, and Calvin, and Elizabeth, in philosophy it gave us the systems of Campanella, and DesCartes, and Bacon, and with them an entire revolution in all the methods of speculation and of practical thought. This was the age, too, of classical study and of historical criticism, when Erasmus, and Reuchlin, and Petrarch gave new uses to ancient literature and relics. It was the age of poetical originality and invention, when Dante, and Tasso, and Saxe, and Shakespeare, and Ben Jonson, and Spenser flourished; the age of the highest developments of art, when Van Eyck, and Leonardo, and Raphael, and Michael Angelo, and Titian, and Albert Durer recreated the art of painting and sculpture. It was the age of the greatest triumphs of architectural genius, when St. Peter's at Rome, the Cathedral at Florence, and the matchless palaces of Rome and Venice were built; in short, when the beautiful *renaissance* style of architecture was developed and flourished at its height; the age of the recreation of the natural sciences and astronomy, with new terrestrial and solar systems; the age of Galileo, and Kepler, and Tycho

Brahe; when astrology gave way to astronomy, alchemy to chemistry, theoretical guessing to experiment, tradition to history, superstition to religion, and, in short, the uncertain and the mysterious to the clear and the tangible. It was the age of bold adventure in navigation, when Columbus, and Amerigo, and Cabot made their discoveries; the age of invention, when printing and the telescope were given to the world. It was also the age of political awakening, and of the advancement of civil liberty, when the German free cities and the Italian republics were at their height, and when Machiavelli first made free inquiry into the principles of government. In short, the age of the Reformation was the culminating period of various connected intellectual forces which had been maturing for ages under restraint, and now, under the force of the same law, which temporarily restrained them, broke out in every direction and found their expression in every department of life.

In interpreting the connection of the historical facts with each other, we have, in the next place, several laws by which to unite them, laws enabling us at once to connect them with the metaphysical and the cosmical conditions of their existence, and with each other as purely historical phenomena.

The first law is that of sufficient cause, by which we mean that every historical fact has a dynamic antecedent from which it is evolved, and that this antecedent is equal to the fact itself. We can no more expect nations and individuals to do things without sufficient and appropriate cause than trees, or clouds, or avalanches, or volcanoes. The state which the race presents at any one time, or which any one nation or individual presents, is the result and equivalent of the previous state of historical affairs, just as the geological or meteorological state of the earth, or of any one period or part of it, is the result of a previous geological state. Not that anything has but one cause, or a cause of like kind with itself; for the causes of a thing, like a man's parentage, scatter out into numberless legions and complexity as we go back; and in most cases a single thing is the resultant of several immediate forces, as well as of numberless more remote ones; but everything has its causes

into which it must be resolved immediately, and which causes themselves may be further resolved *ad infinitum*. The most general law of causality, therefore, considered from this standpoint, and looking from the effect to the cause, is, that the effect must all have been in the cause, a law which our pure thought as well as our experience leads us to accept, and one which is deducible from the doctrine enunciated at the beginning of this article, namely, that all things were originally and ultimately one, and have from that unity been evolved or differentiated. We say the whole effect must be in the cause, or the whole subsequent in the antecedent, of which it (the subsequent) is but the continuation. All that exists to-day existed yesterday, but in a different form. The sum of to-day's contents is an equivalent of yesterday's. What is to-day in actuality was yesterday in potentiality, but the quantum of force and matter is permanently the same. It becomes us then, in historical matters, to recognize, and as far as may be to trace out this eternal equation of human events, correlating them, indeed, occasionally with natural and prehistoric forces, but in general resolving them in all their changes into other historical terms. When, accordingly, we account for the Reformation, or for the changes which came over the world in that age, we must look for nothing less than the equivalent of that Reformation or of those changes in the previous state of the people—in their institutions, science, activities, increasing desires and new wants; for that was the form which the forces which showed themselves as the Reformation and revolutions of the sixteenth century existed in the fifteenth, and which naturally and necessarily changed into these. To particularize, if we would account for the Reformation (not now to take in the co-originate movements of that age), we must seek the explanation in a sufficiency of historic reason for all that occurred. Whatever may have been the increased light, instruction and study of that age, these must all have passed through individual insight and feeling, and had their manifestation in personal motive as their immediate or conscious cause. It is a sufficiency of these personal motives, therefore, that we must

seek, as well as of general cosmical, periodic, or idealistic causes. As there were great changes of religions, empires and boundaries of states; great uprisings and movements of the people as a whole; wars, diets, councils and disputes; great sacrifices of faith, of congregations, and attachments; of ecclesiastical and political positions and livings; the motive to these—the objective facts of the Reformation—must have been the equal and correspondent in subjective consciousness. In other words, there must be for the Reformation, and so for all historical phenomena, a sufficiency of conscious cause or motive, which alone is the form in which historical causes come into recognizable play. For this motive—equivalent of the forces of the Reformation—we must look farther, then, than the gratuitous indignation of Luther and a few disinterested religionists at Tetzels selling of indulgences, or than the corruption and errors of Rome, or the aspirations of the northern Christians for a purer and more intellectual religion. These would have done much, but they would not, as immediate causes, have dismembered the Germanic Italian empire, or fed the thirty years' war with fuel. We must look at the aspiration of the German dukes to become kings, which they could hope to do only by breaking off from the central empire, and from Rome, its spiritual head, which allowed but one to be the Emperor, and made all the rest simply electors. We must look also to the rivalries of powerful cities and houses; as of Nuremberg and Bamberg, Augsburg and Ulm, Constance and Zurich, Strasburg and Frankfort; at the jealousies of the states—Sweden, France, England, Spain, Austria; at the conflicting interests of coast and inland peoples; and at a thousand other circumstances that we cannot enumerate here. In all of these, one or other of which racked almost every mind of the age with interest and personal anxiety, we must look for an equivalent in motive of all the great upheavals which followed as the Reformation. But whatever may be the shape of the motive, whatever the individual interest, we must have in it a sufficient cause. For men are not insanely inclined to act without sufficient reason; and the reason for an action is the

shape in which the cause gets before it comes into a historical phenomenon, and we cannot expect one man's interest or a sufficiency of it to influence others ; but everybody must have a sufficiency of personal interest, real or supposed, to make him act. And it is this sufficiency, brought down to every heart, that must be sought for as the cause in history.

But, in the next place, it is a law of historical phenomena, not only that everything must have a cause, and that the full effect must be in the cause, but also, conversely, that everything must have an effect, and that the full cause must be in the effect. This is what we should logically deduce from the general fact that everything is evolved out of the same original quantum of materials and force, and that at all times the whole presents an equality. The whole at one instant is the cause of the whole at the next. The antecedent is therefore all found in the subsequent, whatever may be the changes that have been undergone. Such is the general, metaphysical, or cosmical law. This, however, is the case also with the more particular concrete and individual things and forces of the world into which the whole has differentiated itself. Everything and every force once in existence is always in existence. When therefore we have a historical fact, just as when we have a geological fact, we must look to see it remain, and never to pass from history. Its results will pass into other forms, and among other peoples and nations, but they will always be found in full force somewhere. And so, too, when we have once a force we must expect it to act ; so that we can never get rid of it, or stay it in history. Knowing the antecedents, the consequents must always follow ; and the future, whatever it is to be, is to be made out of the present ; and that present, moreover, is nothing else than what it has been made by the past. We can from this readily see how we can infallibly judge the future by the past, since there is not only an analogy but a dynamic connection between them. In knowing the past we know the identical materials of the future ; and if we understand all the forces at any time and calculate the period of their manifestation, we can foretell the future—historical events as well as eclipses—with unerring certainty.

Since, therefore, there are these two laws, or phases of the same law, namely, that everything historical has its appropriate and sufficient cause, and also its definite appropriate and necessary effect, history becomes a science, and not a mere collection of fortuitous facts, a science like geology or chemistry, where the working of the elements in human affairs, just as in the earth or in the laboratory, are seen to produce unerringly their appropriate quantitative and qualitative results. For the laws and causes in both are the same, and are learned by the same process. The recognition of this fact has created of late a revolution in the writing of history, and given rise to the philosophy of history. History, instead of being written as heretofore by Thucydides, and Livy, and Hume, and Robertson, is taking the form of Lessing's, Schlegel's, Hegel's, Guizot's, and still more of Buckle's, Draper's and Spencer's writings, where the facts are linked with the original forces, and traced out in their necessary connections; and where not merely the founding of cities, laws and institutions, the election of rulers, the fighting of battles, and the formation of customs are the subjects and ultimate elements of history, but the climatic forces, the distribution of the elements, the shifting of the snow lines and of the storm centres, the development of thought and ideas from the cosmical advance of the ages, and the acquisitions accumulate experience, etc.

All these are impressing mutations on humanity, and must be recognized in a scientific setting forth of human actions. A nation, an idea, an act can no more get out of its place in history than a volcano-flame or a stone can get out of its elliptical course in rising or falling. When Hegel saw, from following the logical development of thought in his *History of Philosophy*, that the thought of some of the ancient sages could not have occurred in the centuries to which they were respectively accredited, but must occur at other periods, he confidently maintained that such philosophers did not live in their alleged periods, but assigned for them places sometimes hundreds of years earlier or later. Subsequent investigations, purely historical and antiquarian, have verified his suggestions. The

thoughts and actions of all men in every age are not only in system, but each is in its place, proceeding with the harmony of a cotton spindle which puts its threads and knots each in one place, at one time, and in one way, and can do it no otherwise. The fact that men are recognizing this is making a revolution not only in history, but in the interpretation of nature in every department. In fact, the hour is coming and now is when we shall demand science in everything—a scientific method, arrangement and mastery of all our phenomena; making not only history but religion, trade and whatever else has not yet yielded to definite laws and rules of calculation, take its place and importance in the general organism and precession of historic thought.

But again, although nature is thus one, and its forces are correlated one with another, and are all working from the same original impulse, yet, since this working is through changes of form and kind in nature, we must, when we come to human or social affairs, translate the physical into terms of the historical. We have seen, for example, in speaking of the connection of the historical with the geological phenomena, that the progress of the civilizations of the earth has been gradually northward. But this northward progress did not take place without historical events and transactions as its cause and course. Civilizations did not shift northward with the quiet and regularity of the isothermal lines which they followed. When we interpret these physical conditions of civilization into history, we find wars and conquests, overturnings and refoundings of nations, schemes and conspiracies, disputes and councils. What in the physical world is a mere increase of cold and of productiveness in the soil, is in history an increase of liberality in institutions, of spontaneity of thought, of determination in character, of discovery in science, and of culture in refinement and art. Heat and wind, and air and water, are transmuted into motives of ease and luxury, and ambition, and patriotism, and conquest. We find, accordingly, that parallel with the course of the ruling nations northward, we have, as we have already shown, the northward

course of the world's conquests; for the historical concomitants of a change in national supremacy is a conquest. So we find that parallel with the intellectualizing of the religions as the course of the reformatations, reformatations being the historical concomitants of a change in religion. And so parallel with the liberalizing of political institutions is the course of revolutions, revolutions being the historical concomitants of change in governmental principle. And so parallel in general with the advancing course of science and philosophy is the course of investigations and disputes, these being the historical concomitants of intellectual progress generally.

Again, if we take a glance at the particular courses of history, or regard the different nations, peoples, customs, and acts in their respective peculiarities, we will find that they are not only dependent on one another, but that every resemblance, every parallel, every repetition of history in fact, arises from the connection which, either historically or cosmologically, once existed in the whole. Not to trace out these lines of descent of influence or of determination of characteristic through all their courses, nor to follow them back to the general or physical forces of the world, we observe, in the first place, that all civilization has been derived one from another. We have already seen how the civilizations have gradually gone northward, and how the great nations have conquered one another in the march of supremacy. But we will find also that as one civilization went down, and one nation gave way to another, it left its influence to its conquerors or successors. We see the same if we look at the new rising nations. Each one has drawn its civilization from some preceding one. It has merely been transferred, handed over, and further developed. We must not here look for breaks, for great losses of human acquisitions, for entire new creations. Thus Medea gave way to Persia, Persia to Syria and Phœnicia, Syria and Phœnicia to Greece, Greece to Rome, Rome to the Italian and the northern states. We have no example in history of a nation rising up out of barbarism without a historical antecedent. Spain and France received their civiliza-

tion from Rome; Germany hers from the time when she came in contact with Rome; England hers from Germany and France—the Saxons and Normans; Russia hers from the infusion of northern Romanized peoples among her population. Where people have been isolated, as the North American Indians, or the Sandwich Islanders, there has been no civilization. In short, if we look at any nation that has existed, we can see where it has gone, and if we look at any that now exists, we can see where it has come from. The general law is that nation goes into nation and civilization into civilization; and, conversely, that nation comes from nation and civilization from civilization.

Not only is this so in general, but if we examine in the next place the peculiarities of peoples or nations closely, we shall find that their respective elements are to be found in each according to their origin. France is what it is because derived from the Romans, England because derived from the Saxons, Norway because derived from the ancient Scandinavians. The formality of the French, whether in their thought or outward life, by which they are republican, imperial, and communistic, according to their standpoint, and by which they are theoretical, demonstrative, and polite, is the same as the republicanism, imperialism, agrarianism, ideality, and civility of the ancient Romans. In England, any close observer going through the counties can mark out in the physical characteristics and customs of the people what districts were settled by the Normans and what by the Saxons. In Pennsylvania and the other parts of the United States settled by the Germans, you can see Germany reproduced in the minutest particulars, even to the cheese, sausage, feather beds, and methods of building and farming. In short, the civilization hands itself down just as does the race in the immigration through which a people is derived; the civilization of the Normans and of the modern Germans, in the cases mentioned, being equally observable with the lines of the face, which betray the physical origin. Are the Dutch brave and laborious? So were the Batavians before them. Are the Germans fond of lager beer? So were

their ancestors in the time of Tacitus. Are they Christians? Have they the civil law? Are they imperial? That they got from the Romans. The French are not gay, light and impulsive without reason; but they have derived it from their Romanic origin. If they have little mouths, it is from their long pronouncing of their *u*. The English have not thick jaws and broad lower faces but from the fact of their German origin, or their peculiar nose but from a crossing of the Norman and Celtic blood. If the Irish pronounce their *i* *oi* it is because of their bringing together of the closely-fitting French accent of *a* with the German broad *a*. In fact, there is little in habit, look, language, or pronunciation but can be traced from its origin through all the civilizations. These forces follow unspent through the civilizations and nations, and languages and customs, just as the water that passes through the ocean rises in clouds, and flows again through the rains and rivers. There is not a word in any modern language but has had as circuitous a course as any drop in the Mississippi. Why is *Orleans* called thus but from the *Aurelianum* of the Romans? Why is it now pronounced and written as it is but because of the genius of the Celts and Franks, which impressed it with the mould of their organs and prior language? Why is the word *Giulio* and *flori*, in the Italian, but because it was *Julius* and *flores* in the Latin? and why is it pronounced differently in the one from the other, and with just this difference, but from the fact that the Italian lassitude compelled them to break off easily the terminations of their words and round them with vowel sounds? It would be an easy matter to trace likewise the laws, institutions, and ideas of every age, people, and civilization from the preceding; for these have been of uniform and necessary development, as well as the language, the races, or the species of animals.

Again, if we look at the sciences we will find the same connection in nature. Each science, in any age or state of development, will be found to be derived from the previous developments of the same, and to show a unity in itself and

in the intellectual forces of the race. If we follow back the sciences in their history, we shall find these facts to hold universally. First, they all commenced, as germs, in prehistoric times, or at least are known to us as existing at the last date to which we can pursue anything back, with legends there of their having been derived from still earlier times, legends not, indeed, of their origin, but of their derivation from some ancient foreigner or supernatural source. Thus arithmetic, which is first known to us in a treatise by Euclid, is claimed to have been introduced into Greece by Thales, and that he got it from the Egyptians. Or if we trace it back in the Asiatic nations, and other lines that have had little connection with us, we will find it among the Chinese at a very early period in the use of the Abacus, and among the Hindoos at a still earlier period, in a numerical system with ten as a basis. So algebra, which is commonly supposed to be of modern origin, was introduced by Deophantus, an Alexandrian, from the East. Or tracing it in its line through the Arabians into Spain, from whom we have received it, we have the Arabians' account that they received it from the Hindoos. So our geometry, which is essentially that of Euclid, was originally gotten from Egypt. Astronomy was cultivated before the Christian era by Chaldeans, Egyptians, Hindoos, Chinese, Phœnicians, and Greeks; by the Chaldeans as early as 2070 B. C.

Every branch of natural science was likewise known in the most ancient times, the earliest authentic history of the Egyptians and Assyrians representing their priesthood as highly versed in it. Chemistry may be traced back in its European ascent to the Saracens, and through them to the Egyptians; or through the Spanish and Moorish line to the Arabians, and thence to the Egyptians. Of mineralogy we need hardly say that it is of most ancient origin, since gold, silver, copper and brass, as also pottery, were common to all ancient peoples, and brass implements go back beyond the historic age. Geography, likewise, runs back out of our sight altogether. Egyptian tradition ascribes the invention of

maps to Sesostriis, who flourished 1618 years before Christ, and the science to Hermes or Mercury. Geology, too, which is commonly thought to be the most recent of sciences, may be traced back to the Genesis of Moses, to the earliest Greek speculations, and to the cosmogonies of the oldest Arabian, Egyptian and Hindoo sages. The trebular hypothesis itself can be traced back to the anticipations of Thales. In like manner we might trace back meteorology, botany, zoology, physiology, anatomy and medicine, each invariably to some ancient Hippocrates, Egyptian priest, or Indian sage.

But not only can every science be traced back until it is lost in the midst of legends and traditions, or vanishes in pre-historic times; but, in the next place, it may be followed thence downward in unbroken succession, gradually developed from those germs, evolved by regular logical and rational force, without any breaks or creative discoveries or inventions. Nothing has been lost of what was once known, any more than of what once existed. Nothing has been added to the original conception which was not in it potentially as a germ. The idea in those ancient germs had to develop, and has developed, like the oak from the seed, or the man from the child; and the subsequent branchings and maturings of the scions is but the natural outgrowth. The advances of the sciences we might show to be of the regularity of an organic growth. Fact has been added to fact, principle to principle, law to law, method to method, each acquisition preserved, and the whole now presenting the totality of the evolutions, and the progress equalling the sum of the advances. Where there have been apparent creations, or breaks, or leaps, the regular evolution has been going on, if not before the public, yet in some individual mind; for science is a growth through many branches, and not through one alone.

To illustrate by the science of astronomy, we can trace the developing and ripening of our present system from those crude and ancient germs which we saw to exist in Babylon, Chaldea and China. Commencing with the observation at Babylon of the lunar eclipses about the year 720 B. C., we

have next the discovery of the cause of lunar eclipses by Thales in 670, which, implying as it did the spherical form of the earth, this fact also was then evolved. Next Pythagoras correlates the earth with other worlds, and traces out the celestial motions. Then Hipparchus, armed with these facts, begins his new cycle of the moon. Ptolemy next determines the precessions of the equinoxes, and the places and distances of the planets. Then, although for seven centuries astronomy seemed to be neglected, and the discoveries thus far made lost, it was nevertheless kept up in Arabia, from whence it was again brought into Europe by the Moors of Barbary and Spain.

Then followed, by the regular steps of a logical development, or geometric demonstration, the production of the Alphonsine tables, the use of clocks in astronomy, the elaboration of the system of the planetary motions, by Copernicus; the further advancement of the same by Tycho Brahe; the enunciation of the true laws of the planetary motions, by Kepler; the discovery of telescopes and other astronomical instruments, by Metius, Galileo and others; the discovery by Harrocks of the transit of Venus over the sun's disk; the drawing of the meridian line of Cassini (after Dante); the discovery by Horrebow of the aberration of the light of the fixed stars; the construction of the charts of the moon, by Scheme, Langrenus, Riccioli, and others; the further discoveries of Huggins and Roemer; the demonstrating of the motion of the sun around its own axis, by Halley; and the enunciation of the dynamic laws of our system, by Newton; then a catalogue of the stars, by Flamsteed; the discovery of the satellites of Saturn, by Cassini; the explanation of the aberration of the stars, by Bradley; the finding of the celestial inequalities, by LeGrange; the discovery of Uranus and satellites, by Herschel; the generalized system of La Place in his *Mécanique Céleste*, the discovery of the planet Neptune; and finally the application of spectrum analysis to the light of the sun and stars. The whole of what we know of astronomy to-day is the sum of these accretions developed by the same laws as the aggregate human mind.

Or, if we take any particular branch of a science where we can follow the process of development more closely, we will see the same thing. Look, for example, at spectrum analysis. This did not spring full-born from the head of Kirchhof or Bunsen, without any historical antecedents, but is of regular and logical growth through the sciences and scientific experiments. Not to go farther back than to when it became a distinct subject of investigation, the dark lines of the solar spectrum were first observed by Wollaston, in 1802. These were then investigated and mapped out by Fraunhofer, in 1854, who also examined the spectra of the fixed stars. In the next place Herschel, Talbot, Miller, Foucault, and Swan investigated the spectra of colored flame; then Kirchhof and Bunsen placed the whole subject on a scientific basis. Next the spectrum analysis was applied to the light of the fixed stars by Donati, Huggins, Miller, and Secchi; then to nebula and comets by Huggins; then, in 1868 and 1871, to observations of solar eclipses; then to the electric spark, by Whetstone; then to the later experiments of Augstroem, Stokes, Draper, and others, until we have it in its present state.

Or, if we take a single invention, which, if anything, seems to be of individual and independent origin, we will see the same law of development through the historic mind. Take, for example, that of printing. This instead of bursting suddenly on the mind of the inventor and on the world, grew up gradually and organically like a nation, or a science, or a tree. So imperceptibly was its growth that nobody knows when it first appeared; and different men, different nations, and different ages claim its invention. Koster, of Harlem, first used blocks to print and pasted the leaves together, having printed them only on one side. Faust, of Mayence, made an advance and invented books, having printed the first. Guttenberg, of Germany, made type out of metal, cutting them with the hand. Schœffer found a means to cast metal type. Blaess improved the press in various ways. Stereotype printing was suggested by William Ged, of Edinburg, which is further improved by Tilloch. The printing machine is suggested by Nicholson and

introduced by Kœnig. Then we have steam machinery applied to printing; then the Columbian press, then the Albion then the introduction of the roller; then the substitution of rollers for balls, by Cooper and Applegarth; then the various improvements for chromo and telegraphic printing, etc. The whole is an idea in the world which must get out and express itself in its various branches of usefulness as certainly as the tree its flower or the planetary system its seasons.

Or take, in the next place, a system of government, laws, or customs, and you will see the same fact illustrated. Looking, for example, at maritime law, it will be found to have first taken form among the Rhodians about 900 years before Christ, they being the first to possess a sea code. Commencing with them, we find all subsequent codes or systems to be but a development and outgrowth of theirs as a germ. First we find this code introduced into Greece for the building up of Athens as a naval power under Pericles; then into Rome, to serve, except as modified in a single title of the Pandects, for the commerce of that empire; then, thus further modified, into the sea laws of the Republic of Amalphi, in Italy, which, though superseding the Rhodian laws in form, are the same in historic substance; then into a compilation of the usages and laws of the Mediterranean powers, called the *Consolato del Mare*; then in the laws of Oleron borrowed for the Atlantic States, from the Rhodian laws and the *Consolato*, the alterations and additions being mere adaptations to the trade of western Europe; then in the laws of Wisby, compiled by the merchants trading in the Baltic, and modified from the laws of Oleron to suit the northern coast nations; then in the renowned laws of the Hanseatic League—Bremen, Lubeck, and Hamburg—which in turn were derived from the laws of Oleron and Wisby for this new asylum of European commerce; then in the French ordinance of Colbert, and the more modern ordinances of Barcelona, Florence, Amsterdam, Antwerp, Copenhagen, and Königsberg; which again have anticipated our law merchant, and become the maritime law of modern times.

So we might show, also, that every philosophical system, and every modern conception of morality or liberty, has come to us through like advances and development; and in general that every subject of knowledge and activity, whether an institution, an idea, or a general sympathy, has arrived at its present state through successive individual acquisitions and efforts; and that for this there has been a transmission of unbroken force through regular organic growth objectively, and strict logical elaboration as consciousness.

But again, and finally, the unity of our world may be seen running through the general growth and ideal of our thought as a whole; so that what appears in the particular sciences, institutions and ideas as separate constituents and elements of this law, may be seen in philosophy or metaphysics as a general whole, having the same character. The world, in self-evolving, according to the nebular hypothesis, goes on in its changes to produce man, and in man to produce thought. Now this thought, becoming self-acting in a degree, next goes on internally to produce (as representation or knowledge) something like the various things of the world which surround it—that is, to reproduce internally a resemblance to the world. Now, since our thought or knowledge, with the advance of the ages and sciences, becomes more and more like the things known—that is, more and more like the truth, or the world—we are coming gradually to know the world as it is. In as far as we come so to know the world, which is certainly the tendency of our knowledge, there will be a full reproduction of the world as thought. In other words, our thought shall then have produced, or rather shall then be, a world like that which produced it. And so, since it is the world which in the first place produced our thought, and so mediately produced this thought-semblance of the world, it is the world which has produced an internal world like itself. Therefore, taking the whole chain of the process together, the world is going on to reproduce itself again as thought, or to become thought through the medium of this internal world. The world is changing from an insentient cosmical sub-

stance to a living consciousness, or from a world of matter to a like world of mind, from an objective world to a subjective world. So that, if we complete the ideal of this process, which is only an ideal, but whose laws and direction we already see, and conceive the whole objective world to go on and on producing more and more thought, until it all comes to consciousness, and our knowledge, or the internal representation, to go on and on, coming nearer and nearer to the truth, until it is a knowledge of the world as it is, the two will finally come to coincide, and the world be all thought, and thought be the equivalent or identical of the world; so that there will finally be left nothing but the consciousness of the world, or the world will all have passed off into thought, a supposition which is the more conceivable and plausible, since (in our *à priori* speculations at least) it is a philosophic axiom that to know a thing as it is, the knowledge must become the thing or coincide with it throughout; in other words, that at the bottom thought and being are the same, having the relation to each other of self-consciousness. But this idea we have not the space to pursue, nor is it in the spirit of our present inquiry. We merely mention the tendency in this direction to complete the idea we would in this article set forth of the entire unity of the world and its history through all its changes, past and prospective. We shall only state in conclusion that since all these changes—changes by which the world in its circle of existence comes at last to be a consciousness resembling its former unconscious self—were contained as a germ in the original nebular mass from which they have been and are being evolved; so that, as we said at the beginning, these subsequent developments, or this future all consciousness of the world, is part of the original developing existence and substance of the whole, which is not at any one place or time, but runs for its existence through all this circle, and has its being in all extension and in all duration.

In general, therefore, it will be seen that there is a unity of our whole world, in which the ultimate metaphysical principles, the cosmical facts and forces, and the historical

phenomena are all embraced, and in which the whole known universe is seen to be not only an entirety, but preserved as a single monadical existence through all its changes.

- ART. II.—1. *On the Agricultural Community of the Middle Ages and Inclosures of the Sixteenth Century in England.* Translated from the German of E. NASSE, by H. A. CEUVRY. Cobden Club Series. London. 1871.
2. *Les Œuvriers européens. Études sur les Travaux, la Vie domestique et la Condition morale des populations ouvrières de l'Europe, etc.* Par M. F. LE PLAY. Paris. 1855.
3. *Systems of Land Tenure in Various Countries.* Tracts collected and published under sanction of the Cobden Club. London. 1872.
4. *Village-Communities in the East and West.* By Sir HENRY MAINE, Professor of Jurisprudence in the University of Oxford. London. 1871.

THE careful journalist of English investigation in India, during the last few years, will remember, amid sheaves of notes as to the antiquity of the Vedas and the physiology of apparent death as practised by the rajahs, stray jottings here and there, concerning the existence of social groups known as village-communities. But it seems never to have occurred to the general student, that in this one social fact was to be sought the germ of Aryan or Hindu-European politics and land tenure; although since the publication of that in some respects remarkable book, Max Müller's "Science of Religion," it has been conceded that the ancient types of religion represented in Europe had their origin in Hindoostan, and that the germ of them all, however wrought into fretwork of mythol-

ogy, is still extant in the nature-worship of the old Hindu religion.

Concerning the manner in which the two great mythologies, the Greek and Teutonic, originated, critics are not agreed; but recent discoveries, showing the existence of a homogeneous race in Europe long anterior to the Aryan occupation—a race that waged destructive and often successful wars with the Egyptians long before Moses—have rendered it probable that the Greeks, Romans, and Germanic tribes, at their advent in Europe, absorbed the literature and culture of a pre-existing, and, perhaps, aboriginal Turanian stock. The primitive religion of the latter appears to have been a species of ancestor-worship. Professor Huxley has no hesitation in ascribing the occasional occurrence of dark-haired, swart-skinned, and long-headed men in Teutonic families to the persistence of this absorbed race; and the general facts of distribution strikingly support his generalization.

The ancient religion of the Aryan races in Europe is, therefore, a mixed type, for which nature-worship supplied the psychological basis and ancestor-worship the legendary form or mythology. It follows that the great mass of ancestral legend, interwoven with the religion of the Hellenes, was universal from an exterminated or absorbed Turanian family, once in occupancy of the whole area of southern Europe. This ancient stock, of which examples are extant in the sculptures of Egypt, was pre-eminently a sea-going race, carried on an extensive commerce with the Phœnicians and Egyptians, and very likely laid the foundations of the great seaport cities of the Mediterranean—perhaps, of Rome itself, though the egotism of the race that supplanted them lays claim by legend to that distinguished honor. It was eradicated, however, leaving no historical remains, unless the Aquitani of France, described by Cæsar, were members of it. It is very likely that the tumuli and dolmens of Europe and Algiers, that have so sadly puzzled the acute Lubbock, are shrine-graves relict of this ancient race, for they occur more frequently in Aquitanian than in other parts of France, and more frequently in maritime than in

central Europe; but it will require a vast deal of investigation to demonstrate this point scientifically. All that can now be said is that this form of burial, so far as it was prevalent with the Celtic and Gothic races, appears to have been a borrowed form—the survival of a prehistoric people. To what extent this prehistoric people had explored the geography of the ocean, it is impossible even to guess; but the recent discovery of Phœnician inscriptions in Brazil points irresistibly to the conclusion, that a maritime race, intimate with the Phœnicians, must have known and explored this continent, ere yet the Hindu-European migration that afterwards overwhelmed them had commenced. Was the legend of Atlantis, as related by Plato, a survival and distorted shadow of prehistoric discovery? Were the legends of wonderful lands in the west, of gardens of Hesperides, and the like, that to the modern ear read like romances, so many distorted vestiges of an ancient Turano-European civilization?

These questions must be left to the answer of the ages. Our first historic glimpses of Europe represent it as peopled by Aryan races not yet risen to historical consciousness, broken into small and often contending tribes, and here and there, at favorable points, developing centres of civilization, from whence sprang cities. On the extreme verge of the historic horizon lies the land of legend celebrated in the Homeric poems; yet Dr. Schliemann has had to dig through the remains of two dead cities to find that described by Homer, and has thus destroyed the hypothesis that regards the Trojan war as a legend to be allegorically interpreted. Strangely enough, too, though curiously coincident with the suggestions of the preceding paragraph, Mr. George Smith, of the British Museum, in his recent Babylonian and Assyrian excavations, has brought to light the undoubted original of the descent into hell, or the under-world, as it appears in Hellenic literature, in Virgil, and finally in Dante. Now, the ancient Turanians of Europe had an undoubted affinity with the Asiatic Turanians; and in this legend occurs, therefore, the first demonstrated example of Turanian survival in Hindu-European literature.

To dwell upon these points would require an article, not an introduction; and the subject must be here dismissed with the remark that, for the last ten years, the whole tendency of investigation has pointed to the hypothesis that the now inhabited world was pre-historically peopled by a more or less homogeneous stock, and that the ancient civilizations of Mexico, Central America, and Peru, were developed by this race, ere yet the primitive Aryans had descended from the table lands of Central Asia. It is needless to add that the great cities of Asia Minor undoubtedly had their origin with this family. They were city-builders, hewers of rocks into shrines and temples. They "went down to the sea in ships." At various favorable centres they rose to a high degree of sensuous civilization, and have left vestiges of an art and literature as strange in some aspects as geological fossils. Indeed, the dragons and griffins of mythology, perhaps its werewolves and Medusas, certainly most of its monsters, are relics of the strangely imaginative people that went before in clearing Europe for Aryan occupation. Their art took the distinctive direction of sculpture. They played the flute, as the discovery by M. Lartet, of pre-historic instruments, conclusively indicates. But when the Aryan came they melted away.

It is with the Aryan occupation that this paper is principally concerned, and of its primitive social group examples occur in the extant but fast-vanishing village communities of Hindustan.

The village community, as representative of the Aryan political unit, may be defined as a group of families, settled on a tract of land that maintains them, and which they hold on the principle of common ownership, more or less fully in practical operation. Sir Henry Maine's investigations have shown that society, becoming consolidated in the agricultural stage, began in early ages to form such organizations, or, rather, from the nature of the social unit, the family, naturally fell into groups of families, more or less connected by ties of consanguinity. Noah and his sons present an instance of groups of this kind. The social group that consolidated

itself about Abraham is another example. In the instances of the Jews is presented an example of a family developing into a great nation; but it is at first merely a family that, after the death of Jacob, circumstances unite to keep together. This case also illustrates the origin of tribal distinctions, for each of the sons of Jacob became the founder of a tribe, while he himself was the founder of a race. Those who have examined the social system of the American Indians, find a similar organization into groups or villages, each of which, within certain limits, is self-acting; and, indeed, except as an arbitrary invention, to which people were not given in those days, there is no possible way of accounting for political organization and for political divisions, however limited. Authority would thus be vested in the patroon as long as he lived, and his sons and their families would find in him the natural arbiter of all differences. On the death of the father the question of authority would naturally come up, and thus the law of primogeniture—the eldest inheriting the rights of his father—has for its first cause one of the necessities of primitive society, and is, no doubt, relict of primitive social order. The beginnings of the inquiry into this subject are hidden in the dark places of ancient history, but its facts are appropriated to every department of modern life, particularly to those of land-tenure and political division. Thus the modern country represents the ancient tribal distinction, while the modern town is the direct descendant of the village-community. It is thus clear how it happens that in England the county court is the oldest of known tribunals, as Starkie observes in his learned work on evidence. The same fact (of a relation between the ancient tribal and the modern county distinction) serves to show that the investigation of this now unfamiliar social institution is not a barren antiquarian task, but a question of practical importance, and one offering the key to many an apparent anomaly in land-tenure.

For example, the peasantry of ancient England habitually lived in village-communities, and English land-law cannot be rightly understood except by considering how this primitive

social group underlay the feudal system. Again, the history of these associations, and the study of them from life in India, have so direct a bearing on certain modern projects of communism that the neglect of the subject that has hitherto prevailed, except in Germany, is inexcusable. In general, communism implies a return to the social system of our ancestors during the semi-nomade, semi-agricultural period. It would retrace the processes that enter into the complex structure of modern society, unravel the vast results of feudalism, and start the world anew upon the primitive basis of the year 3000 B. C. Nevertheless, it is required to study the system from life, as it appears in Hindustan, and to investigate its capabilities with the calm scrutiny of science, before assuming to pronounce against schemes advocated, in some form or other, by men like John Stuart Mill and George Henry Lewis, in England, and by a host of enthusiasts in France. The presumptions of history are clearly against communistic landhold and cultivation as the new nostrum to cure the social system of its many disorders, especially when it is remembered that our ancestors began life with a universal experiment in that direction.

But, as a critic no less acute than Mr. Mill remarks, it by no means follows that our ancestors voluntarily abandoned common possession and culture. On the other hand, it was gradually wrested from them by various means. Probably, in most instances, rule first became hereditary in families, and thus hereditary distinctions were gradually evolved. Next, feuds would spring up between leading families, factions would form about them, and a struggle for supremacy would commence, to end in the extermination of one faction and its reduction to slavery. In other instances, wars between tribes would result in depriving one combatant or the other of landhold rights, reducing the tribe to the condition of serfs, holding at the will of the conqueror. Thus a powerful mercenary element would be created, ready at a moment's notice to follow an ambitious lord in his crusade on popular privileges, and constituting a standing menace to the tribes occupying

neighboring tracts. In this manner feudal lords would extend their possessions, and new titles, such as duke (leader) and prince (one who stands first), would be created by way of expressing an acquired superiority. The reigning family of Prussia, for example, was founded by a thrifty old fellow who first made money, then bought a title and its appurtenances. The rest came by way of the sword. In like manner the reigning family of Italy sprang from the obscure, but aggrandizing, House of Savoy—a stock that for four centuries, from the fifteenth to the nineteenth, never scrupled to sell a friend at a fair price, nor to kiss the great toe of a puissant enemy. The thrones of Europe, from first to last, rest on rights wrested from feudal lords, and the castles of the feudal lords represent, stone by stone, rights wrested from the people.

The process of feudalization was, therefore, only one step in the evolution of great states, and by studying the map of Europe, century by century, the student is able to trace this evolution step by step. One of the most valuable contributions that could be made to historical literature would be a history of the great states of Europe, topically arranged, and accompanied with maps, showing the aggrandizing process stage by stage. Imperial Germany is the latest completed of these great political divisions, and perhaps it would be well to begin with a fresh instance. From ancient Egypt to modern Germany the rule holds good, that the origin of states is traceable to the village-community. The great ancient states of Western Asia were erected from the same political unit by the same aggrandizing process. Greece and Rome, in their glory, furnish examples of a universal law lying at the very basis of political evolution. Indeed, the syllable *zar* forming the termination of the names of the Assyrian and Babylonian kings, as Belshazzar—that is to say, Belsha-zar—reappears in the Persian *shah* and the Slavonic *tsar*, and it is very likely, though not demonstrably certain, that the Arabic *sheik* belongs to the same root, with, possibly, the Latin *Cæsar* and the German *kaiser*. Thus, as in language, there occurs a period of aggregation or agglutination, so in states; and in both instances

this period precedes and lays the foundation for the period of structural crescence. Here, again, in the more comprehensive view of the subject, the reader can scarcely fail to discern the necessary connection that exists between history and geography—a connection that can only be neglected at the cost of putting jumble and confusion in the place of clearness and accuracy of historical information, to say nothing of losing sight altogether of the higher philosophical aspects of historical literature.

But before proceeding further with inferential generalization, it may be well to follow Sir Henry Maine for a paragraph in his explanation of the origin of the village-community as the primeval unit of bodies politic. The learned Oxford professor differs materially in his opinions from that influential school of ethnologists who look for the origin of society in an extremely low condition of primitive man. Those who have read Mr. J. F. M'Lennan's treatise on "Primitive Marriage," or Sir John Lubbock's "Origin of Civilization," and have accepted unreservedly the views promulgated in either work, will find in Sir Henry Maine's "Village-Communities," and in his "Ancient Law," many reasons for modifying their opinions. Sir Henry accepts the family theory of the state of primeval man in society; and man out of society, with due deference to Sir William Blackstone's clever fiction of a solitary man who yields certain individual rights to the general good, is not man; the individual being born with relations to the general that preclude Blackstone's presumption of solitude. This family he defines as a group of men, women, non-adults, and slaves, of animate and inanimate property, all connected together by common subjection to the paternal power. He makes no attempt to account for this group, complex as it is, by evolution from a lower social condition, but declares, on the other hand, that it is to be accepted as a primary social fact, the explanation of which lies among the mysteries of human nature. Of course, doctrines as to the primitive condition of society, so full in their illustration and so ably defended as those of Lubbock and M'Lennan, cannot be dismissed with mere cursory criticism, though clearly

of a speculative nature; speculative, because, in point of fact, there never was a date when families did not exist and constitute the social unit. The individual unit and the social unit have, in other terms, immemorially co-existed, the one being as necessary to the idea of man as the other. Of course, *à priori*, it is logical to suppose that there must have been men and women before there were families. So think Lubbock and M'Lennan. On the other hand, Sir Henry Maine may well plead that there must have been families before there were men and women. *In medias ibis*. The truth is, there are no facts bearing upon the question; and in the nature of the case, man and the relations springing directly from the traits of his organization, are complementary parts of the same idea. Sir Henry Maine thus plants himself firmly upon facts as a starting-point, avoiding all speculative issues.

It seems, however, as if he might have simplified his primary group a little, by dropping the institution of slavery, or regarding it as the result of wars between families and the consequent capture of prisoners. There are many facts in favor of simplifying the subject to this extent; for this process of slave-making is one daily repeated among barbarous and nomade tribes.

The family, as has been noted, on the death of the father finds itself confronted with the question of authority. This question would be one of importance; for, with ordinary longevity on the part of the ancestor, the third or fourth generation is already in existence, and the group may number from fifty to sixty adult males, exclusive of slaves. This family, on the death of its head, tends to segregate into several smaller groups, each under its head of the second generation. Let an original family, occupying a tract of land in tillage and pasture, thus in a few generations separate into groups of households, but without division of the common land. Or, on the death of the grandfather, let several families emigrate together and occupy in common some out-lying tract. The result under either supposition is a village-community.

In a simple agricultural life such political units would per-

sist and grow for generations, until they developed into powerful tribes, or were extinguished by war. Those most favorably situated along the margins of rivers, or on the sea-shore, would develop into cities, independent of the surrounding country, and, because wealthy, in need of strong walls, well-manned, to protect themselves from the predatory incursions of adjacent tribes. Wars would follow to avenge these incursions, out-lying tribes would be reduced to submission. Thus ancient cities were practically the nuclei of states, exercising a decided hegemony in public affairs by virtue of conquest. Nineveh, Babylon, Carthage and Rome furnish capital examples of the extent to which single cities were instrumental in founding the great states of antiquity. The hegemony of Athens and Greece was only defeated by the out-lying tribes after a desperate struggle; that of Jerusalem in the Jewish polity was indefinable in its limits, but in the main directive of Jewish affairs. The free cities of Germany, on the other hand, present a series of examples of these self-acting polities, persisting for ages side by side with out-lying tribal polities, and, surviving all transformations of the latter, until all are finally consolidated into larger imperial unity.

In a similar manner, the reader who will trouble himself to investigate the history of the elder European cities will find them to have been from the beginning independent and self-acting polities, responsible to no tribal organization. Not only Venice but nearly all the cities of Italy have at different dates acquired out-lying tracts and founded states more or less powerful. In a word, cities were not only the first great civilization centres of the world, but its first great political centres, and the last to yield to the overwhelming wave of feudalism. The very termination *burg*, as Hamburg, Nuremberg, Freiburg, Edinburgh, etc., indicates their early relation to out-lying tracts to have been that of fortress-polities. Inveigh not, then, O statesman, against cities; for from the remotest ages they have been the great nerve-centres of the civilizing energy. They have fulfilled the function of ganglia of freedom and progress. It is thus seen how and why Plato

could not divest himself of the idea of a city as the true ganglion of a state and of the ideal state. He apprehended clearly, with that subtle instinct of his, that intuitive perception of relations, that the city is ideally as well as really, and must be, a civilizing and educating centre. It was no narrow Athenian patriotism, but a deep insight into the necessary conditions of progress, that led him to give emphasis to this principle in the *Republica*, and critics have no doubt erred in assuming the former as a motive.

The reader has gathered from the facts thus far examined that the village-community, or the family principle in practical operation, would at favorable centres develop into municipal organization, while in general it would result in the looser system of tribal organization, the parent community exercising a kind of hegemony over its descendants. Among tribal organizations dissensions between factions would act rapidly in the direction of feudalism, while in cities the republican form of government would tend to the perpetuation of codes of procedure directly descended from the community code. The *patria* would develop into courts of justice on the one hand, and into aldermanic bodies on the other. That this was the case there are many facts to show; for what is an alderman but an older-man—that is to say, a city father? The adjective patrician is directly expressive of the dignity of the *patria*. The German *adel* (noble) is derivative from *alt* (old). So is the Saxon *athel*, as a prefix to royal appellatives.

The facts seem to indicate that the function of the *patria* was originally judicial, legislative and executive—that, in a word, they constituted a general court. Says the learned Starkie: "Notwithstanding the difference of opinion which has prevailed among legal antiquaries as to the origin of the English jury, there seems to be abundant reason for supposing that it is derived from the *patria*, or body of suitors, who decided causes in the county courts of our Saxon ancestors. That the trial *per juratum patriæ*, mentioned by Glanville, was derived from the trial *per patriam*, as used before and

after the Norman Conquest, is rendered probable, not only by the description of the trial *per patriam* yet retained, but by the powers, qualifications and duties incident to the *jurata patriæ* of Henry II. and Henry III. This," continues Mr. Starkie, in his learned note in the first volume of his treatise on the Laws of Evidence, "explains many things inexplicable upon other hypotheses. The *jurata patriæ*, like the *patria*, decided on their own knowledge, and were for this purpose selected from the vicinage, those who had no knowledge of the facts being excluded in favor of those who had, and although the concurrence of twelve men was essential to a verdict, yet as eleven might have been of a contrary opinion, a majority in effect decided. In cases of disputed deeds the witnesses were included among the jury, and their duty was, as declared in the records, *dicere veritatem*."

This *jurata patriæ*, according to Starkie, differed from its original, the *patria*, or general assembly, both in respect of number and of the obligation of an oath; but these were transitions that originally came about in the most ancient courts of England, the county. It is evident from Glanville, that in the reign of Henry II. the trial *per jurata patriæ* was already an established custom; and from the "Monumenta Donica," liber 1, page 72, it appears that the appeal from the *patria* to a select number was a practice of great antiquity. An important relic of this practice occurs in the celebrated trial before Odo, bishop of Baieux, in the days of William the Conqueror, in which the verdict of the *patria* was required to be confirmed by the oaths of twelve men selected for the purpose. There are other vestiges of this practice, twelve or some of its multiples being a common number. Formerly both witnesses and jurors were included in the number, and the trial was then said to be *per patriam et per testes*, but later the two classes were separated.

Since Blackstone wrote, legal students have generally been content with his dictum deriving the modern jury from the law of Ethelred, providing for twelve men, *etate superiores*, with a foreman, who swear to condemn no innocent and to

absolve no guilty. It is clear, however, that the learned lecturer on the common law was in error on this point, and that this body was in the nature of a *jurata delatoria*, or jury of accusation, whose verdict went no further than to consign the accused to the *triplex ordalium*. Again, others have asserted that the modern jury originated with Henry II.; but from Glanville it appears that it must have been of more ancient origin, for he speaks of it as an existing institution in cases of purprestures, nuisances, and trespasses not amounting to disseizins. These were tried, says Glanville, *per juratum patrie sive vicineti coram justiciariis*.

In the village communities of Hindustan a form of trial essentially resembling the trial *per patriam* is yet extant, and happily serves to answer the important question discussed in the antiquarian notes of Blackstone and Starkie. The trial by jury, as it exists in England and among the Germanic races generally, is directly descended from the trial *per patriam*, or by the general assembly of heads of families, and was first instituted as a court of appeal in important causes. This is solid ground.

To what extent this primeval institution furnishes the explanation of important historical problems has been cursorily illustrated. It now remains to give a rapid *résumé* of the facts as they bear upon questions of a practical type.

It is not an unexampled custom even now, though it may represent a transitional stage, for the arable land to be tilled jointly for the common profit; but is usual to find it more or less permanently apportioned out in plots among the households, while the ground left in forest and waste remains in a state of commonity among the villagers. Nor is the principle limited to the Aryan races and to ancient history. The English yeomen colonizing this country in the seventeenth century, and the Tatar tribes of East Russia at the present day, present examples of the same political unit. LeRoy, in his splendid treatise, gives a description of the social economy of the Baskir village communities, on the eastern slopes of the Ural mountains, which, as belonging to a Tatar race of pastoral no-

mades, presents an interesting study of settled life in its first stages. During half the year these Baskirs follow their ancient pastoral habits on the mountains, not wandering at large, but keeping to the summer pasture allotted to their respective villages. The other half is spent in the home village, where the several households have attained to absolute property in their houses and adjacent gardens, while the arable lands and the hay-fields are in the intermediate state, parcelled out among families, it is true, but with a recognition of commonalty that permits the village council to grant plots from the village reserve to new families, and to throw back into the reserve plots upon which families have not raised crops for several years. The village council constitutes a patristic court to which all disputes are referred.

The common lands in New England originated in a similar organization, in which, by grant of the General Court, a tract of land was vested in a company of persons, who then proceeded to effect a division and to designate house lots and tracts of meadow to individual proprietors, while the woodland and out-lying pasture remained the common property of the company. But the habits of individuality incident to modern life soon proved fatal to this antique constitution, and in less than half a century the privilege of commonage had to be limited by law to houses already in being, and to those to be afterwards erected with the consent of the town. Thus the commoners became a kind of landed aristocracy that gradually absorbed the common lands—a process analogous to that of feudalization in Europe, and resulting in a similar system of land-tenure, which, as Sir Henry Maine acutely observes, typically illustrates the history of village-communities in ancient Europe and in modern India, and the causes that led to their transformation.

Happily, again, Hylten-Cavalle, the Swedish ethnologist,* has entered into a minute and careful investigation of the ancient land-tenure of the Scandinavians, by which

* *Förvald i Svensk Ethnologi.*

it appears that, while the Gothic tribes remained nomadic clans, the land occupied by each clan remained as common and undivided clan-land. On the other hand, when permanent agriculture was added to cattle-breeding, that part of the tract which had been tilled in common as odal-land was separated into lots and became the heritage of the several households; but what was not odal remained as common pasture and woodland. The Scandinavian *by*, or township, is a relic of the ancient Teutonic community. The village commoners were originally one family, which gradually evolved an independent group or tribe, whose whole enclosed tract was the tribe-land, first enjoyed in common, but finally apportioned among the households in lots that became heritable. But long after this had taken place the out-mark of the township was held in common as pasture and woodland. Thus the primitive *bys* of Sweden took the form, which some of them have kept to this day, of a partly maintained and a partly broken common, the undivided outmark remaining in its primitive condition, while the sub-divided in-fields were heritable in families. The word *by*, as a terminating syllable in the names of towns, springs from this source. The same word, as used to represent the resting-places in the game of goal, confesses a similar origin.

How these relics of ancient Scandinavian land-tenure puzzled that thorough lawyer and antiquary, Sir Walter Scott, is related in his journal of a journey in Shetland. "I cannot," says Sir Walter, "get a distinct idea of the nature of the land rights. The udal proprietors have ceased to exist, yet proper feudal tenures seem ill understood. Districts of ground are in many instances understood to belong to townships or communities, possessing what may be arable in plots, and what is moor as a common *pro indiviso*. But then individuals of such a township often take it upon them to grant fens of particular parts of the property thus possessed *pro indiviso*. The town of Lerwick is built upon a part of the common of Sound, the proprietors of the houses having fen-rights from different heritors of that township, but why from one rather than another seems altogether uncertain."

The word *mark* (whence, by the way, the feudal title of marquis, and mark as the designation of a money value) involves the fundamental idea of the whole Teutonic land-system. The Teutonic town was, as Sir Henry Maine succinctly observes, an organic, self-acting group of families exercising a common proprietorship over a given tract known as its mark, cultivating the domain on a common system, and sustaining itself by the produce. The mark was divided into three parts—the village mark, the arable or cultivated mark, and the common mark or out-lying waste. The community inhabited the village, cultivated the arable mark in lots appropriated to the several families, and held the out-mark in common. The organization of the ancient mark has long occupied the minds of German legists and historians; but it is only through the recent investigations of G. L. von Maurer that its important bearing on the facts of modern land-tenure in Germany has been established. The Allmand or Allmende of the Teutonic township is still used for pasture and tillage by the householders, under regulations that have suffered little alteration for a thousand years, and the vestiges of common property are still abundant in some parts of the country. Mr. Mozier's paper in the volume on "Systems of Land Tenure," recently issued under the sanction of the Cobden Club, gives the only summary of von Maurer's conclusions that is accessible to English readers.

It is not creditable to the legal masters of England that it should have been left to a German, Professor Nasse, of Bonn, to collect the evidences of mark land, held as once universal in that country. It is true that English historians like Colgrove, Kemble, and Freeman have always kept this fact in view. But the tendency of legal literature has been to assume that this ancient form of property was extinct. Sir Henry Maine has been the first to confess this palpable blunder on the part of legal authors, who, as a rule, have treated this antique type of landhold as incidental, while in fact it is a relic of the village community system prevalent before the Norman Conquest, and dating from the twilight of ancient history. The common fields, open fields, shuck lands, intermixed lands, etc.,

of English legal text-books, are so many relics of the arable mark of the Saxons. When in grass they are frequently styled lot meadows or lammas lands. It is very common for these fields to be divided by green turf-baulks into three long strips. Each family had its plot in each strip, and the whole was worked on the principle, still traditional in some parts of New England, of three-field husbandry—wheat one year, oats or beans the next, and fallow the third. Individual ownership in these lands only extended from April to October, the whole body of owners having a common pasture right to the fallow and to the baulks. This was known as the right of shack—a word related to the Latin *vagare*, and signifying to wander. It appears still in the word *shack*, a beggar, and in shag-bark. The right of shack also pertained to stubble land after the removal of the crops, and to meadow land after the hay-harvest, when individual property ceased and the fences were removed. This was the origin of the old festival day known as Lammas Day, which always occurred on the thirteenth of August, and was celebrated by a general holiday gathering of the community. A few centuries since, according to Marshall, who wrote about the beginning of this century, nearly all the lands of England lay open and commonable. Berkshire, Huntingdonshire, and Wiltshire were the last to give way before feudal tenures. Indeed, the grassy baulks that anciently separated the three fields are still visible in large tracts in the vicinity of Oxford.

In France, again, the old village-community system persisted at points until within the present century, surviving the process of feudalization. In M. Le Play's volume, for example, will be found a description of the village of Les Jaults, the last of several communities that once occupied the Nivernais. Legal writers have regarded them as owing their origin to feudal lords. But in the present state of information they must be accepted as ancient village-settlements, which fell under the authority of feudal lords during the Middle Ages, but persisted after the destruction of the feudal system. In 1840, Les Jaults consisted of seven families,

whose heads were kinsmen and bore a common name, land, buildings, and cattle being held in common, and families having separate compartments in a common house. The meals were taken in common, only the head of the community and his second enjoying the distinction of a separate table. The community was industrious and moral in its habits. But the spirit of individualism finally crept in, undermined the authority of the elders, eventuated in legal complications, and finally in ineradicable feuds between families. The society was broken up in 1846.

But, perhaps, the most striking examples of ancient communistic agriculture are still extant in the villages of Croatia, Servia, and Austrian Slavonia. The villages are fraternities of co-owners and kinsmen, holding land in common, cultivating in common, and dividing annually according to rules, giving fixed shares to particular persons, or according to the estimated wants of families. The land is not even theoretically devisable.

On the other hand, the Russian agricultural village parcels out the arable land among the households, but only for a term of years, generally three, after which it is re-apportioned *en masse*. This work falls to the lot of the council of elders—the *patria*, again—who also settle all disputes between households, and give decision in all causes at law. This organization has persisted through many political mutations. When the feudal system was initiated in Russia, and the villages became subjected to noble proprietors, the freemen became serfs, working *en corvée* for the benefit of the master. It is even asserted, and by no less authorities than Haxthausen and Tengoborski, that the serf system was introduced in order to preserve the old village system from segregation, as upon it depended the ancient order of the land.

This universal rule, therefore, as the acute reader has already concluded, prevailed in the process of feudalization; the mark was transformed into the manor, and generally the tribal land determined the limits of the shire. The germ of the aristocracy, that gradually worked this metamorphosis and

substituted feudal for odal tenures, is, as has already been intimated, to be sought in the existence of certain families within the community, tracing their descent to the primitive ancestor, who was general in war, and governor in peace. Thus, in the very constitution of the community, and in the vested right of the court of elders to partition the land, was planted the germ of a hereditary nobility, and of the transformation of tenures. The Indian village-community, already extinguished in Bengal, but still prevalent in the interior, presents examples of the feudalizing process in every stage of progress. Indeed, wherever the Brahminical code of Mann, in which the two leading ideas are caste and religious ritual, has had its way, the native village law has become obsolete, and exists only as tradition; but, as indicated in Mr. George Campbell's able paper in the volume on "Systems of Land Tenure," it appears that the constitution of these villages corresponded with that of the ancient mark in Germany, Scandinavia, and England.

A general view of the subject has now been mapped out. But it would require tomes to follow the complex process of feudalization, step by step, from the primitive democratic village to the feudal manor with its land. Again, the field is a new one, and only shafts have been sunk where systematic mining should long since have been the order of the day. Perhaps, indeed, it would be premature to construct any definite theory of the great transformation, or series of transformations, by which Europe has proceeded from the condition of a myriad of political units, each independent of the other, to the condition of a congeries of nations.

At least, however, American thinkers owe it to themselves to master the details of a field of investigation so important; and, to that end, this imperfect summary of the relations of the subject to various social, political, legal and historical problems has been attempted.

- ART. III.—1. *The Oath of the President of the United States, with other Oaths.*
2. *The Messages of President Grant to the Congress of the United States for five years past, with Notes, Grammatical, Critical and Ironical, on the same, by numerous Editors.* Washington.
3. *A Series of Essays on the Statesmanship of Gen. Ulysses Grant, President of the United States, as illustrated chiefly in his peculiar plan of Reconstructing Louisiana, Alabama, Tennessee, etc., by means of Carpet Bags and Bayonets.* New York, Philadelphia, Boston, &c.
4. *A Dissertation on the precise difference between Presents and Bribes in the case of the President of the United States.* By HON. THOMAS MURPHY, LL.G., assisted by several other men of letters equally eminent and disinterested.

Now, as on many former occasions, we have a disagreeable task to perform. It is no pleasure to us to assail those in high places, even when they occupy them only by accident, and give daily proof of their utter unfitness for them. Still less disposed are we to divest them of their tinsel and white-wash, and exhibit them in their deformities as nature and art have made them, when they may be regarded for the time being, abroad if not at home, as, in a certain sense, a type of the national civilization and intelligence. But it would be a spurious patriotism and a burlesque on free thought and free speech to conceal grave faults in our public men for appearances' sake, in order to avoid the mortification of being ruled by such men.

It may be very well for the press to be blind and deaf in regard to the defects, infirmities, or imbecilities of those in power, in countries in which it is a penal offence to express an unfavorable opinion of them. But even in countries in which the press is thus shackled, where bondage is

hoarse and may not speak aloud, no such performances on the part of their rulers as we have to complain of would be allowed to pass without being denounced, let the penalty be what it might. At all events, we are not of those who, feeling that they have a duty to perform, shrink from performing it lest it may get them into trouble—lest it may injure them in their present business or future prospects. Accordingly we proceed to give our impressions freely, but without intending to use any harsher language than the public good seems imperatively to demand. We think our sincerity in this will be sufficiently evident from the fact that, had our present Executive been content with the honors and profits he has enjoyed, from having been elected twice to the chief magistracy of this great nation, we would cheerfully have allowed him to retire in peace without any such unpleasant retrospect as we have now to present.

But none need doubt any longer that General Grant will do all in his power to secure his election for a third term, and this is but saying in other words that he will be President or Dictator for life if he can. The only question on this point is, Will he succeed in his ambitious plans? It is certain that he would not if the American people would only evince their characteristic sagacity and patriotism. But unfortunately there is not the least certainty of this. Political demoralization is too widely prevalent—a demoralization which, as may be remembered but too well, General Grant himself has contributed more than any other man by example, if not by precept, to render universal. It is generally admitted by thinking men whose minds are not warped by the corrupt influences of party politics, that those who give themselves any trouble about the welfare or honor of the nation in comparison with their own selfish interests form but a very small minority of our voting population, and that with this minority General Grant has no real sympathy.

But let us be understood. We do not oppose General Grant either on partisan or personal grounds. We owe him no grudge. We have no feeling of resentment to gratify

against him. He has never refused us a favor, for we have never asked one from him directly or indirectly, either in our own behalf or that of any one else. Moreover, we were in favor of his election when we did not know him as well as we do now—that is, when we regarded him as a very different man from what he has since proved himself to be. While we labored under this delusion we were not only in favor of his election, but we did all in our power to contribute to it. The reason was this: we fully sympathised with the large proportion of the public who were grateful to General Grant for having suppressed the rebellion, although at no time did we believe that he was the best of our generals. We believed that there were several as good as he, more than one his superiors. We were satisfied that he succeeded finally—not because he was in any sense an abler general than some of his predecessors, but because he had a much better disciplined and more effective army, whereas the rebel army had grown weak and demoralized. In all this he was fortunate.

But this was no reason why he should not be rewarded and honored by the nation. He was rewarded and honored accordingly, and in the most generous manner. But this is not sufficient for him. He is made President of the United States. In three months he proves to the world, not only how little he knows of statesmanship, but how very vague are his ideas of principle or honor, or even of the dignity and self-respect of a gentleman. He proves, in a word, that money, or its equivalent in some form—cash or merchandise, real or personal estate, hardware or software—is the sort of honor that is most precious to him. The politicians soon avail themselves of his infirmity. All who are ambitious to obtain office, whether their object be money or glory, proceed to make presents to the President of the United States, and those who give most money or most value get the fattest offices, or those supposed to confer most glory. Any one might be a great public functionary on this plan if he had only a sufficient amount of wealth and was proportionately liberal in making presents. It matters

not what the present-maker's business is—he may be a grocer, an expressman, a manufacturer of quack medicines, or a dry goods merchant, it is all the same; he can be, in fact, anything he wishes, from a tax collector up to a cabinet minister or minister plenipotentiary, if he will only evince his appreciation suitably in advance, and be fortunate enough to have no law against him, and no enemy in the United States Senate.

We are aware our readers may tell us that there is nothing new in all this; it is indeed open to the objection of being stale, for the facts have long been notorious. But the public has a bad memory, especially that part of it whose interest it is to remember only what is favorable. Another reason why we beg leave to recall such hackneyed things is, that there are some who think that General Grant is by no means entirely cured yet of the infirmity in question. Others go so far as to maintain that offices can be purchased from the President of the United States to-day in as strict accordance with the laws of commerce as any other commodities can be purchased in our great marts, the chief difference consisting in the fact that owing to the great fuss made by certain newspapers some four or five years ago about the new presidential traffic, the President has been much more prudent since in conducting this particular branch of his operations, so that it is now quite difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain what any particular office costs at the White House. It seems that all a denizen of the outside world may hope to learn at the present day is that the tariff of prices is much higher than it used to be some years ago. The rise in the market must not, however, be attributed to the late panic, nor is it accounted for wholly on the common principle of supply and demand. The demand has indeed not diminished, but rather the contrary. There are at least as many candidates and bidders as ever. But this has very little if anything to do with the advance in price, which, according to those best informed on the subject, is owing chiefly, perhaps wholly, to the fact that the President being now wealthy, he can afford to reject small bids, sure that he has only to wait a little while to get his full price.

Another hackneyed subject is the nepotism of President Grant. It has been estimated that he has placed more of his relatives in office, or furnished them provender at the public crib; in one way or another, than all his predecessors put together, and we fear that estimate is not at all an exaggerated one. It were less matter if this large horde of relatives were, in general, persons qualified for the positions in which they have been placed, although even then there would be some indelicacy, not to use a harsher term, in giving places to so large a multitude to the exclusion of as many others who were qualified and who had perhaps deserved more from their country than they. But when the President of the United States bestows offices on nonentities merely because they are his relatives, we think he is guilty of conduct but little less reprehensible and less dishonorable than that of accepting presents with the tacit or express understanding that offices will be given in exchange for them.

But let us assume for a moment that General Grant has not been guilty of either bribery or nepotism, but that his accusers, actuated by malice prepense, have grossly libelled him. At worst, let us suppose that he no longer suffers himself to be bribed; that he no longer accepts valuable presents on any conditions whatever; that he no longer shows any favor to his numerous tribe of relatives; that is, let us suppose, in a word, that he is a new man in these respects; that the Hon. Tom Murphy, the Hon. John Hoey, and other worthy friends and associates of his, have reformed him—should he be distinguished above Washington on this account? should he be made President the third time, and consequently for life, as a reward for abstaining from bribery and nepotism? If not, what has he done as President, or what can he be expected to do, to entitle him to that distinction?

Some of the newspapers have called General Grant's hankering for a third term, or a life term, Cæsarism. This is done in general much more by way of flattery or ridicule than by way of reproach or censure. At all events, we know no general of modern times more innocent of the charge of being

like Cæsar than General Grant. If we are wrong in this, will somebody be good enough to inform us in what does the similarity between Grant and Cæsar consist, beyond the bare fact that both have commanded armies and gained victories? But may not the same be said of Alaric and Attila? It may seem unkind to say that Grant is much more like the king of the Visigoths or the king of the Huns than he is like the illustrious founder of the Roman empire, but such is the fact.

We would not, however, designate the conduct of General Grant as either Alaricism or Attilaism. Fortunately, neither would be possible at the present day. But as Alaric was rather a vulgar, coarse person, without much knowledge of any other art or science than that of human butchery, so, we fear it must be admitted, is Grant. Attila, it seems, bestowed no favors but kicks and curses on any but those who purchased his good will "by meal or by malt," or could prove that they were of his own "flesh and blood." In the latter case, we are told, the great Hunnic butcher was quite generous, especially when he had indulged in large potations of a certain liquor which some historians regard as lager bier, while others, who are probably nearer the truth, insist that it was rye whiskey. Moreover, Attila had a mode of "reconstruction" of which he claimed to be the original discoverer or inventor, and which consisted chiefly in fomenting strife between the different races he had conquered by means of emissaries who robbed and plundered whenever they could, allowing their worthy master a certain percentage of their booty. The mental culture of Attila, like that of Alaric, was confessedly very limited. It is still a disputed point among the learned whether either of those chieftains could write his name, but all historians agree in giving each credit for more or less ready wit, and, above all, the faculty of making stirring, effective speeches to friends and foes.

Far be it from us to say, however, that, upon the whole, Grant is like either Alaric or Attila. We perpetrate no such libel. We merely repeat here, in substance, what we said

above on this point, namely, that if Grant is unlike Alaric or Attila, he is a thousand times more unlike Cæsar. If the truth must be told, the freedman who brushed Cæsar's clothes was more like his master than Grant is like Cæsar.

Just let us compare the twain as warriors, and whatever similarity we can discover between them in this character it will be all. That Grant fought well, and did well generally, as a soldier, we have never denied. But success in putting down a rebellion after the rebels have become pretty nearly exhausted, in every sense of the term, is no proof of great generalship. History holds no one to be a great general who has distinguished himself only in a civil war. About one-third part of a nation rebels against the other two-thirds; one-fourth against three-fourths would be nearer the truth; but the former estimate will answer our purpose as well. The two-thirds have both the prestige and the material advantages of an organized, established government. No foreign army interferes in the struggle. Since the two-thirds were quite as brave, as patriotic, and as resolute as the one-third, the war could not have ended otherwise than as it did. Under another general the armies of the United States might not have crushed the rebellion for another year, although it may well be doubted whether there were not other generals in the Union army then who would have subdued the rebels at least as quickly as General Grant did, had they had the chief command. But, be this as it may, General Grant has never encountered a foreign army or an alien nationality.

Cæsar, upon the other hand, invaded foreign countries and subdued the bravest races and nations, and fought and defeated the greatest captains of the age. He was not alone the conqueror of the Gauls, whom no one else had conquered or could conquer; he distinguished himself in the Mithridatic war, the Alexandrine war, and the Hispanian war. The Helvetians, the Belgians, the Nervians and the Britons, the Gauls and the Germans, were all alike to him. He could as easily restore the beautiful Cleopatra to her throne, as he could punish the fierce and turbulent Ariovistus for imprisoning the Roman ambassadors.

The great captain who disputed the empire of the world with Cæsar was Pompey, but the dispute was most triumphantly decided in favor of the former at Pharsalia, one of the greatest battles ever fought. His victory over Pompey was still more complete than that at Thapsus, in Africa, in which he defeated Scipio and Juba.

In war, as well as in peace, Cæsar evinced, without affectation, his innate greatness of soul. Even in his struggle with Pompey for life or death, when some of his lieutenants deserted him to join the enemy, he sent them their horses, arms and equipage. Suetonius informs us, moreover, that when he captured cities which had made all the resistance in their power, he left them at liberty to take which side they pleased, imposing no other garrison upon them than the remembrance of his generosity and clemency. Finally, when the decisive day came the first general order of Cæsar on the plains of Pharsalia was, that without the utmost necessity no soldier of his should lay a hand upon the citizens of Rome.

So much for Cæsarism in war. It may be very well to call our Southern rebels the Helvetians, the Nervians, the Belgians, the Sequani, etc.; and in turn to call "Stonewall" Jackson, Ariovistus, and General Robert Lee, Pompey; but the comparison would scarcely hold. Not but our brethren in rebellion were as brave as the fiercest and most impetuous of those Gallic and German tribes, but there are other considerations which exhibit the comparison between the two warriors as too much like that between the pigmy and the giant.

We have remarked, in passing, that General Grant has never passed through the the test ordeal of fighting and defeating foreign armies and foreign generals. But other American generals have. Washington fought and defeated, again and again, the best foreign troops in the world, commanded by their bravest and ablest generals. So did General Andrew Jackson. Yet neither Washington nor Jackson had any pretensions to Cæsarism.

But let us see how the presents went in the case of the captain who, we are told, is the prototype of General Grant.

All historians of Rome in those days agree, that, instead of growing rich in office among his fellow-citizens, Cæsar invariably became poor. It is estimated that, when he left Rome to take charge of the government of Spain, his debts amounted to a sum equal to more than seven millions of our money. Not only had he spent every penny of his salary in each office in giving contributions for improving the condition of the common people, but also by far the largest portion of his private patrimony, and thus it was that his debts attained such enormous magnitude. We see, then, that if Cæsar was ambitious his ambition was a very different sentiment from the vulgar, paltry greed for money and money's worth, which is the ruling passion of Grant, if he has not been grossly and habitually misrepresented by friends as well as foes.

Finally, if we compare Grant with his pretended prototype in regard to culture and intellectual ability, what figure will the former make? Did ever two men occupying similar positions present a more striking contrast? It is universally admitted by competent judges, that Cæsar has never been surpassed as an historian. His "Commentaries"* is a model of excellence to this day in the best schools of all nations, and as long as dignity and force of thought, purity and elegance of style, and unswerving, impartial truthfulness of narrative are appreciated by mankind, it will ever continue to be so. Unfortunately for the world, this inimitable work is the only one of Cæsar's that has survived the ravages of time; for we are informed by Suetonius that he wrote valuable treatises on grammar and eloquence, a tragedy entitled *Ædipus*, etc. But whatever may have been the character of these, whether Cæsar ever wrote them or not, it is a well-attested, undisputed fact that as an orator he had no superior among his contemporaries save Cicero. It is certain that a nobler oration was never delivered by Cicero, or any other orator of ancient or modern times, than that delivered by Cæsar before the senate against capital punishment, as reported by Sallust. There is not a sentence in

* *De Bello Gallico.*

this masterly appeal in favor of humanity but is replete with the sagacity of the statesman and the wisdom of the philosopher. And this is the profound intellect to whom one is compared who, if his life were the penalty of failure, could not address a half dozen sentences to Congress, with pen or tongue, in decent, grammatical language, without employing some one to put them together for him, so that he may not be jeered at for his ignorance and incapacity, even by boys and girls in their teens. Yet, whatever General Grant does just now is to be regarded as Cæsarism!

But let us suppose that by "Cæsarism" is merely meant that General Grant has a sort of family likeness to great warriors in general who aspired to direct legislatures and rule nations, as well as to lead armies. It is a remarkable fact that there has not been one of the great captains of ancient or modern times, excepting Alaric and Attila who did not carry about with him some favorite book. Thus, for example, the favorite of Alexander the Great was Homer. Finding a beautiful cabinet among the spoils of Darius, the conqueror gave orders to have it preserved for him as a place in which to keep his Homer.* The favorite of Scipio Africanus was Xenophon, which he read daily and nightly while besieging Carthage. The favorite of Marcus Brutus was Polybius. While Hannibal was crossing the Alps he read eight books of the Iliad. His speech before the senate of Campania was modeled on that of Achilles to Nestor when the ambassadors were sent by Agamemnon to implore the hero to return to the Grecian camp. The same heroic spirit is exhibited in his memorable "colloquium" with Scipio Africanus near Crotona, and again in his famous address to his army before the battle of the Ticin. Charles V. always carried about with him Philip de Comines. The great Condé was as fond of Homer as Alexander, and so was Napoleon I., who, however, sometimes exchanged him for Ossian. Frederick the Great's favorite author was Sophocles. Charles XII. of Sweden

* Vide Plutarch in *Vita*.

scarcely ever went to battle without a copy of Cæsar's Commentaries in his pocket. Marshal Blücher had the same taste and habit. Homer, Xenophon and Cæsar were alternately the favorites of Wellington, but he ever returned to the great Roman, whom he always took pride in declaring his model in making his despatches as terse and as free from egotism as possible. It is almost needless for us to say that the favorite work of General Grant is the Philadelphia Ledger. There are some other similar works which he sometimes studies with great interest. It is well known that he has a peculiar fondness for bellows, and so, with the exception, he says, that the Ledger is rather short-winded and wheezy, it is perfect in its kind.

There has not been one of the great captains mentioned, always excepting Alaric and Attila, who did not take more or less pride in encouraging literature, science or the arts. Washington was certainly the friend of literary and scientific men; there was no encouragement he could give either which was not generously and gracefully given. Louis XIV. was not prouder of Corneille or Racine than Washington was of Benjamin Franklin. Jackson was gruff in his manner and eccentric in his habits; at the same time he was thoughtful and shrewd enough to appreciate knowledge as real power, and, so far as he could, to encourage its votaries. As for the other great captains, including Alexander, they befriended literary and scientific men, and valued their society just in proportion as they were great. This was eminently true of Cæsar, who took men like Sallust with him to be his companions in all his foreign campaigns. Suetonius assures us that even his favorite generals at the battle of Pharsalia were not more welcome at his villa, after his return in triumph to Rome, than scholars and authors, no matter whence the latter came.

But perhaps, when the performances of General Grant are called "Cæsarism," the Cæsar to whom it is meant to compare him, is Augustus, the Roman Pericles, the friend of Virgil and Horace, and whose favorite prime minister was

Mæcenæus. If this be the Cæsar whom we are to regard as Grant's prototype, then it is a different matter, and we may expect the future historian to grow big with inspiration as with bated breath he discusses the Grantian era in American literature! For, far be it from us to deny that General Grant is the patron of men of letters—such “letters,” for example, as those written to the newspapers in his praise—letters sometimes called “interviews,” in which he gets credit for thoughts and ideas that could never have found their way, by any natural process, into a head like his.

General Grant may also claim distinction as a patron of those fine classics known as the Dime Novels. True, neither these nor the interviewing letters are exactly after the manner of Cæsar. But what of that? Their style is certainly not so much unlike Cæsar's style, as Ulysses Grant is unlike Julius Cæsar in every intellectual characteristic. Still, by all means, let us have a Grantian era. But it certainly cannot be called the Age of Gold, or even the Age of Brass, for brass, too, is an honest, sober metal. Upon the whole, we think that what is most nearly a true synonym of the Grantian Age is not, as some say, the Age of Rye Whiskey, but the Age of *Pelf*. If it must have the affix *ism* to it in some way, in the name of common sense let the thing not be Cæsarism in future, but Alaricism, or Attilaism. This, it is true, is open to the objection that it must seem queer to the world that we, who claim to occupy the foremost rank in intelligence and enlightenment as a nation, should retain, at the head of our government, term after term, one whose prototype we must seek, certainly, not among the cultivated Romans or Greeks, but among the barbarous and illiterate Visigoths, Vandals, or Huns.

ART. IV.—1. *Dissent in its relation to the Church of England. Eight Lectures preached before the University of Oxford in the year 1871, on the foundation of the late Rev. John Bampton, M. A., Canon of Salisbury. By the Rev. MR. CURTEIS. London, 1874.*

It will probably be necessary to explain to some of our readers the terms employed here to denote two powerful and opposing parties. In order to do this it may be well for us to examine the history of both the Establishment and Non-conformity, so that our view may not be contracted, partial, or prejudiced; for history clothes simple definitions with a life and beauty, or a realness that we could not otherwise discern. It also enables us to see the good and ill in opposing parties, and thus saves us from awarding undue praise or unmitigated censure. The history of England for centuries, in order to be philosophically studied, must be read in the light of that wondrous and but rarely interrupted struggle between Conformity and Non-conformity; between Episcopacy and Puritanism. By the phrase "non-conformity" is designated that numerous party or those numerous sects that differ from the church established by law in England, either in doctrine or discipline, or both. It will at once be seen that such a party must of necessity be influential in the state, and consequently a powerful opponent of the national church.

There has constantly been in England a struggle between the spiritual and civil power. This statement is amply confirmed by the history of England at various periods; and these earlier struggles seem to us to have been the germ of non-conformity as well as of the Reformed Church. In the reign of Henry VIII. the power and grandeur of Rome were at their highest in England; but in spite of that unequalled power and splendor there were undermining forces at work—to a large extent unheeded; but nevertheless mighty in their operation. Like many of the forces of nature, calm, but majestic and powerful; there were moral, intellectual and social agencies at work that culminated in the emancipation of England from the See of Rome and placed her on the highway of progress

and freedom. It was and is said that Henry VIII.'s vices were the cause of the English Reformation. We certainly deny it. What becomes of the earlier marks of revolt against the Papal rule? The struggle in the reign of Henry II., between himself and Thomas à Becket, and carried on by many succeeding sovereigns and the people, shows that there was a leaven at work that was highly dangerous to the Roman power. Catholic historians frequently admit that the Reformation did not begin absolutely in Henry VIII.'s time, but that there had been many agencies at work that made the people ripe for revolt. Wickliffe and his coadjutors had left their mark on their own and succeeding ages. Henry, powerful as he was, dared not act as he did unless the people were prepared for such a radical change. Henry, undoubtedly, was the agent by which the ready forces were directed; but he was nothing more; for it was a mere question of time, and not of willingness on the part of the people.

Certainly, no advocate of the Reformation would at all extenuate the motive of Henry in dissolving the bond between England and the papacy. His conduct in relation to Catherine of Arragon was criminal and highly censurable. The fact is, Henry was not in the sense of doctrine a Protestant at all; for whilst he sent Roman Catholics to the stake for denying his supremacy, he also sent Protestants for denying the doctrine of transubstantiation. However, we may safely call this period the beginning of the English Reformed Church.

The convocation, under the pressure of the court, declared that Henry was the "only and supreme Lord, and, as far as the law of Christ permits, even the supreme head of the Church of England." Thus the bond was snapped asunder that bound England to Rome. Thomas Cromwell, on the ground that the monasteries were notoriously places where guilty and abominable practices were perpetrated, was the chief agent of their destruction. Thus the strongholds of Catholic domination were overthrown and the Church of England separated more widely from Rome. Cranmer and Latimer and others were the principal agents in bringing the separated church into discipline and order. Under Edward VI. and the Protector,

Somerset, the Church of England reached its climax of power and splendor. Then came the change under Mary, when many eminent divines were sent to the stake and the Reformed Church received a terrible blow. But under Elizabeth we may say that the Reformed Church was firmly established in the affections and esteem of the people. Since that time Protestantism has been in the ascendant. It has had its trials; but so firmly is it rooted that these difficulties appear but to have made it vigorous and fruitful.

There were, however, within the English Church elements of disagreement that at length produced non-conformity. It was but probable and natural that, as the English Reformation was, to a large extent, but a compromise, there should be a party within the church that would desire to sweep away every vestige of compromise, and go back to New Testament simplicity of ritual and doctrine. This party was named the Puritan. The very same principles that produced the Reformation seem to us to have produced non-conformity. The right of private judgment on matters of doctrine and ritual, and its necessary consequent, that men should be allowed to express that doctrine by practice and precept, were the causes of non-conformity. Whatever may be the faults of some of the Puritans, no one can fairly deny to them the praise of hardihood of character, love of freedom, and many other of those qualities that lead to a nation's weal and progress. The charge has been brought against them that they were contracted in their views respecting doctrine; that they had no taste for the beautiful in architecture and ritual; that their doctrine was bare and frequently repulsive; and that they often grasped at the shadow and lost the substance. Mr. Curteis joins in the same charge. He says: "For 300 years this highly unimaginative form of religious character has continued in England. * * * Art, with her united treasures of imaginative representation, was suddenly cast aside and held of little account. Smitten as if by a stroke of palsy, the life that seemed ever at work in developing her beautiful creations abruptly stood still." Mr. Curteis says a great deal more in the same style. He also speaks of the Puritans as if they were

destitute of intellectual culture and taste. True, there have been fanatics, who have, in order to avoid one extreme, gone into another, and there were such among the Puritans; but to say they were devoid of taste is both unjust and outside the pale of forbearance. Chaucer, Spenser, Bunyan, the glorious Milton, and the immortal Shakespeare, besides De Foe, Cartwright, Howe, Owen, Selden, Lightfoot, Baxter, Doddridge, Robert Hall, and numerous others, both of an earlier and later date, were Puritanic, either in taste or connection. Were these devoid of culture and taste? Are the modern non-conformists devoid of taste in architecture, or music, or homilectics? No one can truly say yes, and we are sorry that this threadbare charge should be repeated so often.

The puritanic element, however, remained in the English Church until the passing of the cruel and unjust act of Uniformity in 1662, which resulted in two thousand of the Puritan clergy leaving the Church of England, with all its advantages, rather than take the test. No one, whatever may be his opinion of their act, can refuse to see in these men sturdiness of character that led to suffering, ignominy, and in some cases, indirectly, death. These were the first non-conformists. Mr. Curteis himself says: "Far be it from us to withhold the tribute of our praise from men of your communion, who have in bygone times withstood for conscience sake the tyranny and violence of evil rulers, and have helped to give our country the freedom she enjoys. An over-submissiveness is certainly a great evil. And on this *political* field the blood of many an Independent and Puritan was not shed in vain. Every conformist as well as non-conformist *ought* to be proud of such noble, self-denying men." We quite agree with Mr. Curteis. The wonder is, not that there were cases of disloyalty, but that those cases were so few; not that there were revolutions, but that those revolutions were so few, and conducted with such moderation, with the exception of the execution of the unfortunate but treacherous Charles. If the blood of the martyrs be "the seed of the Church," the sufferings, heroism and self-denial of the Puritans were the seed of England's freedom—political and religious. The "Act of Uniformity"

had driven the Puritan clergy from their benefices in direct violation of royal promise, and had reduced them to extreme poverty and distress. The "Five Mile Act" kept them from their own homes and friends, and from nearly all places of public resort. Under the "Conventicle Act" their goods had been seized, and they placed in gaol with the worst of characters. Such acts bravely and patiently endured laid the foundation of England's civil and religious liberty. With all their faults, and they had many, the earlier non-conformists demand the homage of all true and intelligent men.

The question arises, What is the present relationship between the non-conformists and the Established Church? We may certainly reply that, as to the state of feeling between them, there is very "little love lost." There are criminations and recriminations, charges and counter charges; in fact, "war to the knife, and the knife to the hilt." Of course we would not be understood to make an unqualified statement, for there are many honorable examples of courtesy and kindness, with firmness of principle, and deep-rooted conviction. The lecturer, whom we have quoted before, charges the non-conformists with harsh and uncharitable sayings respecting the Established Church, apparently forgetting that powerful counter-charges may be brought, and in greater abundance. For instance, the late Rev. Thos. Binney, a sturdy thinker, and uncompromising non-conformist, is reported to have said: "That it" (the Establishment) "destroys more souls than it saves." Another non-conformist says: "The Establishment is a soul-destroying upas, deeply rooted in our soil. It desecrates religion; in its eyes immorality and licentiousness are trifles; it is at once a blunder, a failure, and a curse." Mr. Dale denies the Church of England to be a true church at all. With some of these remarks we can have but little sympathy, and yet the non-conformists have notoriously greater cause of complaint. For in the literature of the Establishment, in the charges of the bishops and archdeacons, in speeches, and in a variety of ways, the non-conformists have had their share, and more, of censure and bitter language. The millenium of peace is evidently not very near. One thing is certain, the

non-conformists will not rest until they have succeeded in disestablishing the Church of England. This is the avowed object of the majority.

If we apply the test of numbers as a reason why disestablishment should take place, certainly the non-conformists, if their statistics be true—and we see no reason to doubt them—have good reason to enforce their claim. It will have been noticed by those who read the debates on the “Irish Church Bill,” that one chief argument adduced and enforced for separation of church and state was the great minority of the Protestants. The injustice and inexpediency of an Established Church being the church of the minority was vehemently urged. The non-conformists urged the same plea—though of course admitting that their majority is not enormous. Taking their stand-point, their claim is just, and must ultimately be regarded. Of course, the statistics published by the “Non-conformist” are questioned, and they may need some modification, for figures are often made very elastic; but churchmen generally admit that the non-conformists are numerically equal to them, if not superior. The “Non-conformist” has recently published some statistics that contrast remarkably with the estimate we find given in 1861. In 1861 the Church of England had 14,077 places of worship; the non-conformists 20,390; Church of England, number of pews, 5,317,915; non-conformists, 4,894,648; Church of England, attendance, 3,773,474; non-conformists, 3,487,558.

The recent statistics of the non-conformists, obtained by careful and diligent effort, show that in thirty-two of the largest towns of England, excluding London, the aggregate population of which is 4,345,216, the number of sittings provided by the Established Church is 650,470; by non-conformist churches, 1,078,451; that whereas, in 1851, the former provided 42 per cent. of the sittings, to the latter 58; in 1872 the former provided only 37.6 per cent., and the latter 62.4. This proves that in large towns non-conformity has made rapid strides.

The non-conformists therefore demand that the Church of England be disestablished on the ground of justice. No

churchmen can meet them on this ground ; they must therefore take some other stand-point. Of course we admit that the Episcopalians have arguments to offer outside this one of number, and to these they now have to direct their attention and effort.

The non-conformists complain that they are placed at a social disadvantage by the existence of an Establishment ; that from the very fact of the union of church and state, the former has an undue prestige. This complaint is not without reason. Naturally the Episcopal Church will be the church of the fashionable, cultured and wealthy. Its mode of government and ritual, and also its antiquity, will attract. It is another thing, however, whether the state ought to add additional prestige by uniting the church to itself. The clergy of the Established Church have a position arising from their being officials of the state. This is seen from the fact that they perform and register the marriage ceremony, whilst the non-conformist minister has to submit to the presence and oversight of the registrar. Coleridge, in his *Literary Remains*, exclaims : "Oh, that our clergy did but know and see that their tithes and glebes belong to them as officers, functionaries of the nationality, as clerks, and not exclusively as theologians, and not at all as ministers of the gospel ; but that they are likewise ministers of the Church of Christ, and that their claims and the powers of the church are no more alienated or affected by their being at the same time the established clergy than by the common coincidence of their being justices of the peace, or heir to an estate, or stockholders." Thus Coleridge recognizes the twofold character of the established clergy. The non-conformists desire to see the Episcopal clergy no longer state officials, having the trappings of temporal power and the position and dignity accruing to their state character. No reasonable dissenter would grudge the Episcopal Church that power and influence that arise from its character as a church ; but that which the state gives is the "bone of contention." The social difference that in the past was so great is now comparatively little. Wealth, position and culture are the portion of dissenters as well

as conformists. All parties have risen with the tide of general prosperity, the increase of knowledge and the march of social progress. Passing through the large towns of England, the discerning and well-read traveller cannot but notice the vast difference between the non-conformist architecture of his reading and modern progress. Splendid gothic buildings, with "spires pointing heavenward," and within ornamented with all that wealth and taste can supply, and filled with well-clad and apparently well-to-do people, afford a perfect contrast to non-conformity of half a century ago.

A brief glance at the figures contained in the reports of non-conformist church building societies will amply prove that there is no lack of money, and that their revenue is steadily increasing. The Wesleyan Methodist Church alone raises for church building purposes annually nearly £250,000. In the last government there were distinguished non-conformists. The Right Hon. John Bright and the late lamented Mr. Winterbotham found distinguished places within the favored circle, and there are numerous dissenters, able and useful, as well as honored members of the house of commons. In addition to this the educational institutions, for training both lay and clerical students, have rapidly increased, and have become much more efficient and successful. Besides, many non-conformists have greatly distinguished themselves in the chief universities, and are now—the Test Acts being removed—fellows of their respective colleges. The differences between conformists and non-conformists, in these respects, have of late been wonderfully lessened, and will probably continue to be less, until they are reduced to a minimum.

The one great barrier to perfect social equality is felt by the non-conformists to be the Establishment. It is very natural that this social difference should not publicly be made much of; for it is both a delicate and difficult subject to handle, and is frequently oftener felt than expressed. Nevertheless it rankles in the breast, and is not the less keenly felt because not often expressed. The inner circle, the favored place, is where one can truly analyze feelings not often divulged in the outer circle, where they might be misunderstood or mis-

represented. The Episcopalians frequently charge their opponents with envy, and probably not without reason; for, whilst human nature remains what it is, there will be some elements of this kind; but nevertheless the dissenters demand, as an act of social justice, that, in the eye of the law, they be equal with the conformists. In this country, where there is no Established Church, the people generally will sympathize with the claims of the other churches, and will scarcely understand why such a measure of justice is withheld. The mode of treatment adopted toward the dissenters has undoubtedly increased this feeling of hostility toward the Established Church, and has almost made it pass into an axiom that "a state church must of necessity be a persecuting church." We wish we could say the implication was groundless.

In large towns dissenters are able to take care of and protect themselves, but in rural districts the case is vastly different, as the "parson and squire" stand very frequently in the position of the lord *spiritual* and the lord *temporal*, and woe to the unlucky wight who happens to fall under their ban! The hostility—determined and continued—of the non-conformists generally, with the exception of the Roman Catholics, to the twenty-fifth clause of the Educational Act arises, to a large extent, from the dread of the Church influence in rural districts. Take the Wesleyan Methodist polity as an example. When this question was discussed by a representative and influential committee of Wesleyan Methodists, the ground of their opposition to the Educational Act, especially in its denominational features, was clearly and constantly stated to be the undue influence it would give the established clergy in the villages and hamlets of England, and the probability, judging from the past, that that influence would be used for wrong purposes. This was the burden of many of the speeches, and its constant repetition only proves the depth of feeling existing on this matter. It was regarded almost as a matter of "connexional" life and death in the rural districts, and the result was that, by an overwhelming majority, they resolved to discourage denominational extension, and to oppose aid being given from local rates for denominational schools. The

Episcopal clergy have to thank themselves for this state of feeling, for a little courtesy would have won golden opinions and influential support from the powerful body of Wesleyan Methodists.

Of course there is a "conscience clause" for the protection of non-conformists, but it is felt that in many cases it would be so much waste paper, as there were cases that no "conscience clause" could reach or remedy. To our knowledge, in some parishes persecution of a petty and an unceasing nature is being carried on, and these cases annoy and add fuel to the already intense fire, which will only be quenched by disestablishment. Of course there are many honorable and large-hearted Episcopalians who would scorn to be guilty of anything dastardly or mean, and to these our remarks cannot apply. Those who think that disestablishment will be the sovereign remedy for all the disadvantages which dissent labors under will most likely be grievously mistaken, but that it will remove some no candid person will deny.

The position held by the bishops, as peers of the realm, and the use they make of it to oppose measures on which the non-conformists have set their hearts, are "thorns in the flesh" of the bulk of the dissenters. For example, the bill that marriage with a deceased wife's sister be legal has passed the house of commons, but has been rejected by the house of lords, and almost unanimously by the episcopal bench. The right reverend prelates are undoubtedly conscientious in their opposition, and, as some of the non-conformists think, with reason, yet their sturdy opposition produces discontent and avowed hostility. The general opinion in England is that the bishops will not occupy a seat in the house of lords many years longer. Whatever may be the opinion as to the propriety or impropriety of the bishops being peers, one thing is certain, that some of them are not at all deficient in legislative skill and oratorical power. The bishop of Peterborough is an example of how the two-fold office of statesman and bishop may be efficiently and honorably sustained.

In a review of this nature it would be unjust to the non-conformists not to give special prominence to their

conscientious objections to the Established Church, as wrong in principle, injurious in practice, and inexpedient in its results. From the lips of eminent non-conformists it is no rare thing to hear that the alliance between church and state is unholy as well as unjust. It either makes the church unduly subservient, or unduly arrogant. The Rev. Mr. Rogers, chairman of the Congregational Union of England, and a logical and forceful speaker, expressed his opinion that the tendency of the free churches was to strengthen individual, spiritual life, whilst the Establishment trammelled it. Uniformity often produced a dead level. It is right the churches should be free, unpatronized, and unimpeded by the state, for frequently there is but little affinity between one and the other. Take, for instance, the appointment of the bishops—the chief pastors of the church—how often the appointment has been made for political reasons, and not from the highest and truest motive of fitness for the office. Of late years, however, no prime minister has grossly offended the opinions and tastes of the people, by appointing a notoriously unfit person. There are evils incident to an Establishment that the most ardent advocate for its existence would not attempt to deny; they would admit them as “the least of two evils.” Some of the leading non-conformists express, in strong language, that their objection to the Established Church is not so much political as *religious*.

The Rev. E. Conder, late chairman of the Congregational Union, and one of the most respected ministers of that church, in a speech recently delivered in London, said :

“Their duty as citizens and politicians was something apart from their duty as members of a church; on the other hand the highest motive of many in desiring to remove the present Establishment was not political but religious. Some said that non-conformity was dying. They might be assured, however, on the question of the burial of non-conformity, because there was only one material of which the tomb of non-conformity would be built, and that was the dismantled walls of the state Establishment; but when its epitaph was written, perhaps it might run in this way: ‘In zeal for truth and liberty it was born, and it died in the arms of victory.’”

This is a fair sample of the sentiments constantly uttered in

non-conformist assemblies, and as constantly warmly applauded. Men of the largest catholicity of spirit have at times not hesitated to express their personal conviction strongly respecting the Establishment and their duty towards it. The late Rev. Thomas Binney, who was carried to his grave amid, we may say, a nation's regret, forcibly said, when he had a tempting offer to quit the ranks of non-conformity and join the Established Church :

"My nature, in its highest essence, would be injured ; my moral sense would be sacrificed or seduced. I CANNOT DO IT. I will not. This, too, would be *great wickedness and sin against God*. It would be sin against myself. I never will consent to pay such a price for the advantage which clerical conformity can confer. I see them all. I feel their attraction. Principles as to some—preference as to others—taste, habit, association as to most strongly induce and impel me toward them. I could wish them mine. I should be glad to secure them. I would give for them anything consistent with honor. It should not be heroism to refuse that. I determine to refuse it. To all the inducements to enter the Establishment I oppose one thing, and but one. With my predilection, I have little else ; but *with my opinions* I ought to have *that*—a living conscience. * * * I go nowhere unless conscience can go with me. I am satisfied to remain wherever it remains. This is my feeling ; and the servant of this and of this only, I here resolve to refuse orders."

We have inserted these quotations from representative men as illustrating the fact that there is a strong *religious* objection on the part of many non-conformists to the Established Church.

There are, however, difficulties and disadvantages in the way of disestablishment that must be faced, and that no impartial and honest non-conformist would ignore or deny. Such a step as disestablishment would involve a radical and serious change in the Constitution of England. What shall be done with the Act of Settlement, by which the Protestant succession to the crown was secured ? This question many sincere non-conformists anxiously ask. Well, it seems to us that there are two reasonable replies. The legislature could still demand that the sovereign be a Protestant, without determining the church or churches to which he may belong. As the "Act of Settlement" was made by the legislature, it could be revoked, as

to its present forms, and be remodelled to meet the altered circumstances. Of course, there could be but little difficulty, assuming the nation's readiness for the change, *per se*, in altering the Act of Settlement.

However, there is another reply possible, and that is, that the sovereign be free to choose either the Roman Catholic or the Protestant religion, and that he be in nowise ruled in this matter of religion. Many of those most ardent for disestablishment would be shocked at this proposition, and would denounce it as highly criminal. But the great difficulty would be removed by disestablishment; for the sovereign would no longer be the head of the church, and nominally have the appointment of church officials. It would be, far more than it is now, a personal matter. Of course the influence of the court would be tremendous, and, if directed against Protestantism, would do it serious damage. However, the difficulty must be faced and settled, and, we hope, in harmony with the highest interests of church and state. There is an argument constantly used by the advocates of Establishment, that we have now a "national recognition of religion, whereas disestablishment would leave us without any national form of religion whatever." It seems very much like a play upon words. In this country there is a strong moral and religious influence, without the state *as such* interfering in religious matters, and so it would be in England. True religion would be stripped of a great deal of its pomp, but it would, we think, be not the less real and influential on that account. Certainly the harmony existing between some of the state officials, the clergy especially, in times past, reminds us of what Luther says was a proverb in his time:

"Cum mare siccatur, cum Dæmon ad astra levatur tunc clero laicus fidus amicus erit."

There is great force in the argument sometimes adduced that separation of church and state would involve the spiritual destitution of many rural districts, where the people are so few and so generally poor that it would be impossible for them to support a religious cause. We know from experience

that there is force in this reasoning. There are parishes with which we are familiar where there is a great deal of moorland, and are constantly thinly populated, where it would be simply impossible for the people to supply the barest wants of a clergyman. The admirable "parochial" system of the Church of England meets this difficulty; so that every parish has its clergyman, who very frequently is not only spiritual but temporal adviser to the neighborhood. If disestablishment take place, it would be a lasting shame to the members of the Episcopal Church if it did not promptly and amply meet the difficulty. The wealth of the Church could well be directed into this channel. Why may not home mission organizations do the work, aided by a central fund, the offering of the many Episcopal churches of England? We feel certain that the Church can do it, and will do it, when put to the test. Other churches are doing a great deal in this direction, and by voluntary effort, in some sense, supplying the lack of the parochial system, and we are therefore sure that the wealthiest church of all, if forced to be voluntary, will not be behind in effort to do good. The Irish Church has shown that disestablishment and disendowment do not mean ruin, but, on the contrary, increased voluntary effort and enterprise. The Archdeacon of Lindisfane, Scotland, stated in an address a few days since that the loss sustained by the Irish Church through disendowment was £560,000; but the voluntary efforts were worthy of mention. In 1870 the members of the more numerous Protestant Episcopal Church of Ireland raised £229,753; in 1871, £214,709; in 1872, £286,443; in 1873, £230,179—making a total of £923,086. Certainly the English church will find no difficulty, seeing it has greater wealth and members, in doing vastly more.

The "difficulty of difficulties," however, will be the disendowment question. How to disendow so as to please parties generally, and so as to act justly by respecting individual rights, will tax the powers of the greatest financiers and statesmen. The task seems to be almost impossible of accomplishment. The ramifications of the affair are almost endless, and the difficulties

apparently insuperable ; but, as a "churchman" has lately said, the difficulty must be grappled with and overthrown. Of all the schemes propounded, that of "gradual disendowment" seems the most feasible and practicable.

Mr. Ropgood, in a recent article in the "Contemporary Review," suggests "that existing legal rights and privileges (other than those strictly fiduciary), should be carefully preserved, or if extinguished it should be by gradual processes." This seems to be the spirit of the scheme. Individual rights and private gifts must be respected, or the rights of property will be grossly violated, and rebound in dishonor on the legislature. The fear generally is not that the Episcopalians will get too little, but that they will get too much. Non-conformists would rather not have disestablishment, if disendowment be not thorough—consistently with personal rights. Happy is the man, who, when the time comes, shall be able to untie the knot ; for it will be a far greater task than that which has won for Mr. Gladstone the renown of being a great statesman and financier.

One thing that weighs heavily with all literary men and others, is that the Establishment has afforded "learned leisure" to many who could not have had it had they been clergymen of any free church. As long the English language lives, men will honor those who, within the pale of the Establishment, have enriched our literature with profound and learned works. Will disestablishment remove this leisure ? We fear it will, unless the state make special provision for literary men of every grade of opinion. It must be remembered that the professors of our universities are generally clergymen of the establishment, and as such exert a vast influence on the young men of the higher classes, and we think generally with great profit to the young men themselves. There will be evils, doubtless, arising from disestablishment ; but we hope and believe they will be overruled by the earnestness of the people to the advancement of learning, as well as peace and good will in the community.

We have almost invariably assumed that disestablishment

and disendowment will certainly take place. We have done so because we believe the signs of the times cannot be well misunderstood. Take, for instance, the three schools of religious thought within the Anglican church, having but little in common, save the bonds of Episcopal government and establishment. The perusal of the representative papers of each party tells its own tale. The "Rock" is for ever denouncing the high church party, and the "Church Times" for ever censuring the low church party, whilst the broad church organs almost treat the antagonists with contempt. The prosecution in the "Bennet case," in the "Purchias case," and others, speak of disunion and danger. The great danger to the establishment is not from without, but *within*. Her greatest "foes are those of her own household." Besides, it is notoriously a matter of indifference to some of the extreme high church clergy whether there be disestablishment or not; and since the bill brought in by the Archbishop of Canterbury to suppress "Romish practices" has become law, it is more than probable that some of the high church men will seek to free the church from the state. The bishops are in a difficult position. By some they are charged with not being vigorous enough in suppressing ritualism; by others they are condemned for going too far. One party says they are not faithful to their trust, and another tells them they are forgetting their "fatherly character" by making laws against them. "It is," says Chrysostom, a thing highly to be accounted of, but a hard thing to be, that which a bishop should be." Applying in another sense than Chrysostom ever intended, we certainly think it is a "*hard thing*," especially in England, to-day. The broad church party, ever characterized by their latitudinarian views, are prepared to adopt the "levelling up" system instead of the "levelling down." They would establish, with very few exceptions, all the non-conformist churches—at least such appears to be the desire of Dean Stanley, expressed in a speech recently delivered at the dedication of Dr. Parker's new church, London, where he expressed very cautiously his regard for "concurrent endowment." Dr.

Temple, bishop of Exeter, has also expressed a similar desire in his charge to the clergy of Cornwall. These men are following somewhat in the train of Tillotson, Stillingfleet, Maurice, Coleridge, and Kingsley. Their plan is catholic, but not feasible, as they appear to admit. Archdeacon Denison has expressed his intention to join the "Liberation Society" if anything be done against the ritualists, whilst Dr. Pusey, Canon Lidden, and others do not argue warmly for the continuance of the union between church and state. Such is the state of affairs, and leads the non-conformists to feel that they have valuable allies within the Establishment, and that ultimately they will succeed in disestablishing and disendowing the Church of England.

ART. V.—1. *The Ancient World; or, Picturesque Sketches of Creation.* By D. T. ANSTED, M. A., F. R. S., F. G. S. One vol., 12mo. London. 1847.

2. *The Silurian System.* MURCHISON. London.

3. *Exposition du Système du Monde.* LAPLACE.

4. *Les Commencements du Monde.* DE JOUVENCAL.

SO FAR AS we can see the universe is subject to immutable laws. The laws of the universe may be defined as the way in which inorganic, organic and mental nature acts. Every phenomenon of nature, so far as we can comprehend it, is produced by the forces of nature, acting under the direction of these fixed laws. The origin of these laws, how they came to be what they are, why they might not be different, and indeed why anything exists, are questions which we are wholly unable to fathom. It is comparatively easy to assume causes which we suppose to be sufficient to produce all these things; but everything that is beyond the experience of the human race is incomprehensible to man. The simplest way,

and in fact the only rational way, in which we can dispose of the questions which we have raised, is to assume that the universe has always existed, and will always exist; that it has always been subject to fixed laws, and always will be. This answer, however, merely implies our complete ignorance of the facts on which the correct solution of these problems must be based, if we except the experience which has taught us to believe that nature's laws are general laws—no exceptions to them. The geometer knows that mathematical laws are fixed laws, but to what extent nature's laws are mathematical laws neither the mathematician nor the physicist can tell. Experience enables us to conclude that each individual, organic being is adapted to the conditions which surround it, if it is enabled to continue a vigorous existence, and it seems to be almost, if not quite certain, that it was developed under such conditions. The principles to which we have now referred lie at the foundation of our interpretations in geological history, and they enable us to predict phenomena which prove to be true to nature.

Although we are unable to ascend to the origin of material things, yet the concatenation of causes and effects, which we assume to extend from the present to a very remote period in geological history, carries us back to a time when the earth was not peopled with any form of organic existence. It even goes further. We learn from it—and to this conclusion there is scarcely a dissenting voice—that there was a period in its existence when it was a liquid—a molten, fiery mass. It is beyond the province of this article to inquire into the cause of this high temperature; that belongs more properly to the theory of the conservation and correlation of forces. It is sufficient for us to state here that it is the tendency of all forces in nature to destroy one another, to seek conditions of equilibrium. All change in the physical universe grows out of this universal principle. According to this view, if one body be warmer than others which surround it, it will become of the same temperature as the others, and these must ultimately be reduced (unless there be some counteract-

ing cause) to the temperature of space, whatever that temperature may be. Thus the molten earth would part with its heat, and in course of time become solid. Hence the first events in geological history were simply physical—inorganic. The introduction of life was a succeeding event, brought about, it would appear, as soon as the physical conditions were prepared for it.

When the surface of the earth had once become sufficiently stable to allow of the separation of a permanent ocean,* the constant motion of it would wear away the rocks (igneous rocks they were), and thus the deposition of sedimentary strata would commence. As yet the igneous forces must have been very powerful and active, and the sedimentary strata must have been many times upheaved and thrown out of place, and probably transformed into metamorphic rocks, or such as have become crystalline through the agency of heat greater than that afforded by ordinary atmospheric temperature. The whole series of azoic rocks, or such as are destitute of organic remains, must have been more than once worked up in nature's great mill, driven by igneous and aqueous forces. Indeed, the azoic rocks, technically so called, are not *azoic* rocks in the proper sense of the word, since organic remains have actually been found in them.

The remains of a gigantic Rhizopod,† called by Dr. Dawson, *Eozoön Canadense*, have been found in the Laurentian limestone of Ottawa, in Canada; and fossils have also been found in sub-silurian rocks in Ireland. These facts, and the occurrence of limestones in the azoic strata, prove that organic forces had already commenced their unceasing action; since limestone rocks of later times are known to have been mainly made from organic relics. But this is no proof that there are no true azoic rocks; for what

* The atmosphere perhaps became permanent still earlier.

† See *American Journal Science*, [2] vol. xxxvii, p. 272, and vol. xl., p. 344. Also *Geology of Canada*, p. 49, and *Canadian Naturalist*, vol. iv, p. 300. We are aware that these fossils have been referred to a mineral origin.

are now called the azoic series are very rarely horizontal, or as they were originally deposited; but the whole series has been upturned, distorted, broken and displaced in a wonderful manner. No description can do full justice to the curious complication which the horizontal and perpendicular forces have introduced into the masses of hard and tough rocks which were formed in that remote era. In one place the strata are bent nearly double, and in another they are entirely snapped asunder and much displaced.

Such great changes, brought about by forces so powerful, teach us not to lay too great stress on the absence of organic remains in strata, whose origin dates so near the base, or beginning of what we now call the crust of the earth; since those rocks in which fossils were first deposited, or rather which were in part made up of them, may have been more than once worked over in the great work-shop of nature. To us who live in this age of the world, and who are so familiar with the globe covered with all forms of vegetable and animal life, a world without any kind of organic existence would present a strange appearance. Not a sea-weed floated in the ocean; not a lichen covered the naked rocks; no form of life moved over the rocky skeleton of the globe, and none moved through its waters. All was still, the stillness of absolute death, except the moaning of the boundless ocean as its waves lashed the rocky shores of the desolate islands which were raised above its surface, and the whistling of the wind through the granite peaks which reared their heads above the surrounding sea. Clouds floated in the sky, the rain descended on bare rocks, the rainbow presented its bright colors to a lifeless world, and the sun poured down its rays on the surface of a globe without life to treasure up their useful powers on which man's comfort and happiness so much depend.

The origin of terrestrial life is a subject of legitimate inquiry for man, but it seems to be placed too far beyond his sphere of experience to enable him to arrive at satisfactory results. In its nature the problem is like the problems of metaphysics; there are two sides to it, and it looks as if

there always would be. Experiments which have been instituted to solve the question have not, as yet, enlightened us much. That the principle of life exists in the universe we know; but whether it is centered in a Deity, an intelligent unity, or single being, who is placed at the head of the universe, and who is properly the source from which all life and mentality spring; or it is a part of the nature of things, and grows directly out of the laws of the universe, thinking minds are not agreed, nor is it possible to settle the question at this time. The nature and education of mankind incline them at present to the former view. We see on every hand, from the lowest depths to the greatest heights where the temperature permits, life in all its known phases, and each form adapted to its conditions. Professor Thompson has suggested* that terrestrial life was derived from some other planet, through the fall of meteoric stones; and although this is not impossible, judging from our knowledge of nature, yet it only removes the difficulty one step farther back, and tells us nothing respecting the origin of life on the worlds of space.

Whether vegetable or animal life first made its appearance on the earth geologists have not yet fully determined, owing probably to the fact that the former more easily decays, without leaving any remains or signs of having existed, than the most of the latter. Those forms of organic existence which did not possess any solid parts would scarcely be able to leave any remains to be transmitted to our times. The truth is, the preservation of organic remains is not the rule, but the exception. We must always remember, says Lyell, that it has been no part of the plan of nature to hand down to us a complete or systematic history of the earlier ages of the animal and the vegetable world. We may have failed to find a single organic fossil, even in such a formation as that of the valley of the Connecticut river, where footprints of bipeds and

* Inaugural Address before the British Association at Edinburgh, Aug. 2, 1871. *Am. Jour. of Science*, 3d series, vol. ii., p. 293.

quadrupeds abound; but such failure is no proof that the population of the land or sea was scanty during that era; because the relics of organized existence are not generally preserved in sedimentary strata.* Thus the geologist, who bases definite conclusions on such negative evidence, is quite likely to be led into error. Judging from analogy, however, we should conclude that some low form of vegetable life was better adapted to the early conditions of things than any form of animal life.

Algæ, or sea-weeds, appear to have been the first form of vegetable life to make its appearance. That the primeval seas were better adapted to sustain life such as then existed than the land, seems quite evident. Such plants found conditions adapted to their growth along the shores of the early seas, where the water was not too deep, as similar weeds do now in existing seas. Some modern sea-weeds grow to extraordinary size. Mr. Darwin speaks† of one (*Macrocystis pyrifera*) which flourishes in the Western Ocean near the southern part of South America, amidst the great breakers, "which no mass of rock, let it be ever so hard, can long resist." It is scarcely an inch in diameter, but it is wonderfully strong. Capt. Cook found one at Kerguelen Land, that grew in twenty-four fathoms of water, and since these weeds usually grow obliquely through the water, its whole length was estimated at one hundred and eighty feet. Capt. Fitz Roy found one growing in forty-five fathoms of water.‡

The earliest period, or series of strata, in which organic remains are usually found, is called the *Silurian*, a name given to the formation by Sir Roderick J. Murchison, who derived it from Silures, the designation of a tribe that anciently inhabited certain portions of England and Wales, where the rocks are well developed. We have already seen, however, that the azoic formation, on which the silurian rests, contains

* Lyell's *Prin. of Geology*, vol. i., p. 147, eleventh edition.

† *Voyage of the Beagle*, vol. i., p. 308.

‡ *Voyages of Adventure and Beagle*, vol. i., p. 363.

fossils whose existence has been recognized ; and we may add that it is highly probable, if not certain, that a considerable portion of the series (whose whole thickness is estimated at from fifteen to twenty thousand feet*) is made up in part of organic remains ; that is, the ancient seas in which the strata were deposited also supported organized beings adapted to an existence in them. The preservation of fossils in those rocks would be extremely difficult, both from the probable nature of the organized bodies and from the grinding process to which they were subsequently subjected.

Organic existence, as exhibited by the remains left in the earth's crust, has been divided into several periods, as follows, commencing with the most ancient : The Azoic Age ; the Age of Mollusks, or Silurian ; the Age of Fishes, or Devonian ; the Carboniferous Age ; the Age of Reptiles ; the Age of Mammals, and the Age of Man.† In relation to the vegetable creation, the algæ, or sea-weeds, extend, very probably, into the azoic. The acrogens, or the highest forms of flowerless plants, have their greatest expansion in the carboniferous age, where they occur with abundance of conifers, or cone-bearing plants—inferior kind of flowering vegetation. The cycads, a genus intermediate between palms and ferns, have their greatest expansion in the age of reptiles. The dicotyledons, or plants having two seed lobes, and palms, begin in the reptilian age and expand into the age of man.

None of these ages are distinctly marked. Three of the great divisions of the animal kingdom, the Radiates, the Mollusks, and the Articulates appear to have begun at nearly the same time, geologically speaking, but the Mollusks have a much wider expansion—were far more numerous—in the silurian period, than either of the other two divisions. The fourth great division of the animal kingdom, the Vertebrates, begin with the fishes in the Devonian period. Reptiles commenced in the age of fishes, but they did not reach their most extended limits till the age succeeding the carboniferous

* Dana's *Manual of Geology*, p. 143.

† *Id.*, p. 128.

period. Mammals have their origin in the age of reptiles, and they appear to have reached their greatest expansion just previous to the age of man, or perhaps in the early part of it.* New discoveries may yet show that some of these divisions of the animal kingdom had an earlier beginning than here supposed, but they will not change the general conclusions given.

We see that while there has been a change from one form of animal and vegetable life to another, there was no sudden transition from a lower to a higher form. One kind laps, so to speak, on another; and while one species, one genus, one family, one order, or one class, was gradually dying out, another one was as gradually expanding and gaining the ascendancy. It is not at all times an easy matter to decide which of two closely-allied forms of animal or vegetable life is to be regarded as the higher; and as a general rule it becomes necessary to compare such forms as are separated by wider differences in structure and habits. Whatever conclusions we arrive at, this one thing is certain, and it may be taken as a general principle, derived from observation, namely, that each form of organic existence is adapted to the physical conditions which surround it, if it maintains a vigorous life. If it is surrounded with uncongenial influences, it languishes and gradually tends towards extermination. Some kinds have a constitution so elastic that they can gradually adapt themselves to changed conditions, and thus continue an existence which, in other cases, ceases. Reasoning in this way, we discover a progress in the forms of life—a gradual progress, though the gradations do not at all times appear to be complete†—from the lowest to the highest yet manifested on the globe, and we hence conclude that the physical conditions—including in these not only food, warmth, atmosphere, fluids and solids, but the ability to maintain an existence against a powerful living enemy—have gradually improved from the earliest

* Dana's *Manual*, p. 128.

† Perhaps the reason of this is, that a complete geological history, such as it is possible in nature for man to make out, has not yet been determined from the "evidence of the rocks."

ages down to the present. *How* the higher forms of life came into existence is the great question of the day, but one which we do not purpose discussing here.

If we follow out the history of each geological organic period, we shall find none of them marked out, as it were, by a wall, so that its limits can be readily determined; but the reality of the age is marked by the culmination of some new idea in the system of progress. Through each age the continents have their own special history, and there is but little probability that the events of any two were very nearly synchronous.

In respect to time it has been found useful to divide geological history into periods, as follows, beginning with the earliest: Azoic Time, or the period without life; Palæozoic Time, or period of ancient life; Mesozoic Time, or middle period of life; Cenozoic Time, or period of recent life; and the Era of Progressive Mind, or the period of man.

These divisions, both with respect to age and to time, are the great periods into which modern geologists divide the series of changes through which the crust of the earth* has passed from the earliest geological epoch down to the present moment. Nature herself has marked out numerous subdivisions, of which geologists have taken advantage, and these minor divisions serve a useful purpose in treating in detail the subject of geological history.

If land plants or land animals existed in the early periods of the formation of the earth's crust, no remains of them have yet been found. The ocean and the seas appear to have been the only theatre of life for many ages in the primitive periods of the earth's development. All organic remains which belonged to the silurian period are of marine origin. We

* *Crust* here means so much of the earth's volume as is open to the inspection of man. Owing to the upheaval of the lower strata, in mountain chains and elsewhere, this crust has a thickness of several miles. This term must not be confounded with a former notion that the actual solid part of the globe was confined to a shell of only limited thickness, varying from fifty to a hundred miles. Except *streams* of liquid rocks, the earth is probably solid to the centre.

hence conclude that the ocean must have been salt in those days, but it was probably less so than at present; for all the rivers which have been pouring their waters into it for so many thousands of years must certainly have carried a great amount of saline matter into it, which would be washed from the different strata through which the rivers passed, and which they drained. Up to the close of the American upper silurian period, no signs of fresh-water lakes and rivers, and fresh-water deposits, have been discovered, though it is almost certain that they existed.

The animals of the primordial or lowest silurian period were very simple in their structure, and the number of species small. They represent the organic forces of the period, and it is wonderful to what extent these simple structures were able to work over the inorganic materials of the globe. But the rule is, the smaller the animals the greater the number of them, and their work was unceasing. Such has been the case throughout the whole course of organic geological history.

We have already mentioned that limestone is mainly of organic origin. Silicean materials (from which we have flints) are derived from the silicean shields of the infusoria called diatoms which are now regarded as plants; and the siliceous specula of sponges. Both these are microscopic. In the remaining part of this paper we shall make no effort to follow the chronological succession of strata, but shall treat of the influence of organic forces in modifying the structure of the earth's crust. We shall more especially speak of the influence of those small animals which are only visible by means of the microscope, and in many instances microscopes of considerable power. The life forces of these little animals, secrete material from the water in which they live, and in this way a skeleton of stone, or a shield is formed, and when the animal dies, the stony substance sinks to the bottom, where the shields thus constructed actually form extensive rocky strata. It is not too much to say, remarks Professor Hitchcock, that two-thirds of the strata have been formed by the influence of organic forces.*

* *Geology*, p. 89.

Indeed, it is difficult to find a piece of rock, or a handful of earth, that has not, at some former period, been worked over by the life forces. It was the opinion of Dr. Mantell that "probably there is not an atom of the solid materials of the globe which has not passed through the complex and wonderful laboratory of life."^{*}

The total amount of organic strata has a thickness of about eight miles. A large portion, as we have already mentioned, of organic material, has been worked over by the forces of nature, so that a vast amount of rocks, which now appear to contain but a small proportion of organic fossils, is largely composed of matter once moulded by the life forces.

Animals and plants which now exist are arranged into distinct groups, each of which occupies a certain district of land or water, and one group seldom encroaches on another. These are called zoological and botanical provinces; or districts.† Owing to the difference in light and heat, food and climate, one group of animals or plants could not long survive a removal out of its native province, if the change be sudden; but how far the change might be sustained if it were gradual we cannot so well decide.

Organic remains occur in all the strata from the lowest silurian to the most recent, the azoic rocks proper being the only ones in which they do not occur. They have been dug out several thousand feet beneath the present surface; they abound in the Alps at a height of six to eight thousand feet above the level of the sea; in the Pyrenees at nearly the same height; and in the Andes and the Himalayas at the height of sixteen thousand feet. Not unfrequently beds or layers of rocks many feet in thickness seem to be composed almost wholly of the remains of animals and plants; and even mountains are composed almost wholly of organic materials.

We have already mentioned that in many cases organic remains are broken and ground into small pieces. This, however, is not always the case. The arrangement is some-

^{*} *Wonders of Geology*, vol. ii., p. 670.

[†] *Lyell's Principles*, vol. ii., p. 337.

times as follows. If the fossiliferous formation be of considerable thickness, the whole is divided into many distinct beds of varying thickness. There will be layers of argillaceous or siliceous rocks containing but few remains, or perhaps none at all; next will succeed perhaps a calcareous layer, well filled with organic fossils in a nearly perfect state; following this will be a layer perhaps without any remains; then a layer containing remains, and so on through the whole bed. Even in the solid rocks (as in the Devonian series) there will be layers of organic remains where the fossils are thickly imbedded, and between such layers scarcely any organic remains are to be seen.

From these facts we infer that the animals lived (each in its own province) and died where their remains are now imbedded; and we hence know that the water in which they lived was quiet, so that in many instances the most delicate markings have been distinctly preserved throughout countless ages. Each animal, which floated in the water, sunk to the bottom as it died, and there it was enveloped with mud, and then the process of consolidation and petrification went slowly on to completion. In some instances the process of deposition went on so quietly that the skeletons and other parts of microscopic animals, which the very slightest disturbance would have crushed if not obliterated, are well preserved.

The accumulations of the relics of these minute animals in the rocks are sometimes prodigious. From a quantity of stone in Tuscany, weighing less than an ounce and a half, Soldani obtained ten thousand four hundred and fifty-four chambered shells, like the nautilus; and of these it took four or five hundred to weigh one grain; and of one species it took one thousand to weigh that amount. These were marine shells.*

In fresh water accumulations a microscopic crustacean called *cypriis* not unfrequently occurs in great quantities. In the Hastings sand and the Purbeck limestone, in England,

* Buckland's *Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i., p. 117.

strata a thousand feet thick are filled with them; and in Auvergne, in France, there is a deposit seven hundred feet thick over an area twenty miles wide and eighty long, which is divided into layers as thin as paper, by the exuvia of the eypriis.*

The investigations of Ehrenberg, the celebrated Prussian naturalist, have brought to light some still more remarkable facts respecting the influence of these minute animals in the formation of the earth's solid strata. In one place in Germany he found a bed fourteen feet thick, which is made up of the shields of animalcula so small that it would require forty-one thousand millions of them to make a cubic inch; and in another place there was a similar bed having double that thickness. In Massachusetts there exist numerous beds, formed of the siliceous shields of animalcula rather larger than those referred to above, which have a thickness of many feet; and other similar beds exist in numerous other places in the eastern states. Prof. Wm. B. Rogers found, in the tertiary strata of Virginia, beds covering large areas, and having a thickness from twelve to twenty-five feet, composed of these shields.†

Limestone, as we have said, is probably mostly, if not wholly, of organic origin. One kind, that known as Nummulitic limestone, is especially remarkable. This kind of rock is mainly composed of thin, disk-like fossils called nummulites, from their resemblance to money. They are of diminutive size, and belong to what are called many-chambered shells. Nummulitic limestone belongs to the tertiary formation, and it is found in the middle eocene strata. The beds of this era are very extensive. They occur in the London and Paris basins; and they cover a part of the Pyrenean and Mediterranean basins, besides many other places in Europe. They spread over portions of the Alps to a height of ten thousand feet above the level of the sea: over portions of the Pyrenees, the Apennines, and the Carpathians. They are found on the

* *Buckland's Bridgewater Treatise*, vol. i. p. 118.

† *Report on the Geol. of Virginia*, for 1840, p. 28.

southern slopes of the Himalayas, to a height of sixteen thousand five hundred feet, in western Thibet. They extend into Africa in the northern parts, and in Egypt, where the Sphynx and parts of the pyramids were made of nummulitic limestone. They are found in Asia Minor, Persia, Caucasus, India, and the mountains of Afghanistan. Thus we see the extent to which the little nummulites have contributed to the formation of the earth's strata.*

The division of the animal kingdom known as radiates are the most simple in structure of all animals, and the farthest removed from common observation. They are commonly called zoophytes. The number found in a fossil state is very large, and they differ very considerably from those which now exist. Encrinites, or *stone lilies*, have long attracted attention from their peculiar structure. Immense quantities of their remains occur in encrinal limestone. The number of bones, or joints, composing the head of this species, is estimated at twenty-six thousand. The *pentacrinite* had a greater number of side arms; and the bones in its fingers and tentacula amount to at least a hundred thousand.

Infusoria, or such animalcula as live in some sort of infusion, are so small that, with few exceptions, they can be seen only by the aid of powerful microscopes. Ehrenberg has enumerated several hundred species of living infusoria, which swarm almost everywhere, in the fluids of living animals, even such as appear to be healthy. These minute animals have stomachs, teeth, and mouths, and various other organs possessed by larger animals. Some of these animals are so small that it would take twenty-four thousand of them to extend over a linear inch. The skin of their stomach is no more than the fifty-millionth of an inch in thickness. Ehrenberg estimates that five hundred millions of these animals do sometimes actually exist in a drop of water. The rapidity of their increase is even more astonishing than their size; for the same naturalist says that in one species a single individual is capable of becoming in four days one hundred and seventy billions.†

* Dana's *Manual*, p. 523-4.

† *Am. Jour. Science*, vol. xxxv., p. 372.

We have already mentioned that the skeletons of these or similar animalcula are found in a fossil state, and that they form extensive beds in this country and in Europe. A cubic inch of these skeletons, which would be composed of forty-one thousand individuals, would weigh only two hundred and twenty grains; so that a single shield, or skeleton, would weigh but the one hundred and eighty-seven millionth of a grain.

Bog iron-ore has been shown by the discoveries of Ehrenberg to consist of millions of organic bodies (*Gallionella ferruginea*), the remains of a plant of simple structure. He had observed in the marshes about Berlin a substance of a deep ochre yellow passing into red, which covered the bottoms of the ditches, where the evaporation of the water left it dry. It looked like the oxide of iron, but under the microscope it was seen to consist of slender articulated threads, or plates, partly siliceous and partly ferruginous.* These plants belong to a family called Diatomaceæ.

We have yet to mention the origin of chalk, which recent discoveries, growing out of the laying of the Atlantic cable, have proved to be at present forming in the bed of the Atlantic. Chalk occupies a considerable space in the earth's strata. It is found in Ireland, a large part of France, in Denmark and central Europe, in northern Africa, in the Crimea, in Syria, and in central Asia. The whole area is equal to that of Europe.

Chalk is found to consist almost wholly of organized bodies called *Globigerinae*, which are rendered visible by means of the microscope. In 1853, Lieut. Brooke obtained mud from the bottom of the Atlantic, between Newfoundland and the Azores, from a depth of more than ten thousand feet, and specimens were sent for examination to Ehrenberg, in Berlin, and Bailey, of West Point. These microscopists found the mud to be composed almost entirely of the skeletons of *Globigerinae*. In sounding for a line for the Atlantic cable, similar mud was obtained and submitted to Prof. Huxley for

* Taylor's *Scientific Memoirs*, vol. i., part iii., p. 402.

examination, and the result was the same as what we have described.*

The facts which we have now given are sufficient to show the wonderful influence which the organic forces of nature have had in the formation of the earth's crust, and in preparing it for the habitation and support of the higher forms of life. Without these facts, which the science of geology has revealed to us, we could scarcely realize, even in a small degree, the influence which the life forces are now exerting both to produce and to prevent changes on the earth's surface. We have learned a little—not a little, a great deal—about the material universe, and yet how little it is compared with the unknown!

ART. VI.—1. *Statements of Theodore Tilton accusing Rev. Henry Ward Beecher of certain immoral acts.*

2. *Statements of Mrs. Tilton in vindication of her Pastor and of herself.*

3. *Statements of Frank D. Moulton as "Mutual Friend."*

4. *Statements of Rev. Henry Ward Beecher in proof of his own Innocence and that of Mrs. Tilton, &c., &c.*

5. *Various other Statements and Mis-statements in the Newspapers and elsewhere.*

THOSE who expect us to indulge in lascivious language because our subject is lascivious must not read this article. But as little need it be expected that we shall be prudish or hypocritical. There is no reason why the weaknesses or passions of human nature may not be discussed without exciting

* *Deep-sea Soundings in the North Atlantic Ocean, between Ireland and Newfoundland, in H. M. S. Cyclops.*

pruriency. By this we do not mean that anything is to be gained by invading the privacy of domestic life, and dragging before the public things which, however reprehensible in themselves, only concern those who are alleged to have taken part in them. But if the parties concerned choose to present them to the public, then they become as legitimate objects of discussion and criticism as any other.

There is nothing in the relation of the sexes upon which everything that is necessary may not be said without the slightest impropriety. But no details are needed for this. Accordingly we deviate from our usual course in the present instance. Our readers are aware that it is our habit to give specimens of any publications we condemn, whether they be romances, essays, letters, verses, etc. But the great difficulty in the case under consideration is, that far too many specimens have been given already—so many, indeed, that if the public were not disgusted, the fact would only show that the public stomach is strong enough to be equal to any emergency.

With the exception that one of the parties is a minister of the Gospel, there is nothing peculiar in the difficulty between Mr. Tilton and Mr. Beecher. Even in this respect, we may as well admit that there is no novelty in the case. It is no slur on any religious sect; nor is it a slur on Christianity to say that there is no church whose priesthood is immaculate in this respect. The most illustrious bishops and archbishops, Protestant and Catholic, and even popes, have at times had to confess themselves overcome by the charms of woman. It is, then, but a slightly modified version of a very old story, a story of which there will be repetitions as long as man and woman exist on the earth, and have no different nature from that they have at present, and had in the past, as far as any history, sacred or profane, gives us any account of their feelings and aspirations. If we are correct in this, it will be admitted that we are also correct in the opinion that five hundred times more noise has been made about this affair than was at all seemly or sensible—certainly an amount which goes far to justify, if it does not prove, that we are the most

uproariously excitable people on the face of the earth. A party of boys returning from school and finding a porcupine's nest, with several young porcupines in it, when they have made but little progress in their natural history, could hardly express their surprise and astonishment after a more bizarre fashion.

By this we do not mean but that the charge against the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher is of the gravest character. A minister of the Gospel who will seduce the wife of his friend, who is also a member of his congregation, commits an offence very different in turpitude from that of the man of the world, who makes no pretension to set himself up as a teacher of either religion or morality. Accordingly, a broad distinction has always been made, even among Pagans, between the priest and the layman found guilty of adultery. Among the ancient Scandinavians, as well as among the Greeks and Romans, the priests were liable to be put to death for this offence, while laymen were punished merely by fines or forfeitures, when punished at all. Under the most favorable circumstances the adulterous priests were deprived of their priesthood, and never permitted again to offer incense to the gods. The Christian church has always claimed to pursue the same course; although it has ever made an allowance for human weakness even in the case of its priests, for if it was not publicly known that the priest was guilty—if his conduct had not caused open scandal—he was forgiven for the first offence, and perhaps for the second. But if he got the name in public of being an adulterer—if his immoralities became notorious among his parishioners—then, even if his superiors believed him innocent, he could no longer ascend the pulpit as a teacher of religion and morality. If his superiors allowed him to do so public opinion would not, except, indeed, that public opinion had become very much vitiated, or, what would amount to the same, that it was never sufficiently enlightened to be able to distinguish hypocrisy from piety, or a burlesque on religion from religion itself.

With the layman it has been different in all ages and

climes, and it is so at the present day. Before proceeding to illustrate this we will call attention to a remarkable fact: Has it occurred to any of our readers that all nations have used violence, or abstained from violence, while smarting from this offence, precisely in proportion as they have been backward or made progress in civilization? The Huns, the Vandals, and the Visigoths either assassinated those who seduced their wives or sisters, or they forgave them on the payment of a certain amount of money, or its equivalent in goods. Up to the time of Alfred the Great, every Englishman charged with adultery might prepare for death in the event of his being unable to furnish a certain amount of money or merchandise. Nor did the doctrine, "your money or your life," entirely cease to be practised in relation to this matter until the beginning of the fourteenth century, when Henry VI., of the house of Lancaster, issued a proclamation declaring that all who would take the law into their own hands for this cause, more than for any other, would incur capital punishment without benefit of clergy. The French, German, and Spanish sovereigns had similar troubles with their subjects. In all these countries, the only one in which "lynch law" is practised to any extent in regard to this offence, and upheld by public opinion, at the present day, is Spain; and Spain forms this exception because she has retrograded in intelligence and enlightenment. In England, France or Germany there is no other violence on account of this offence, save among common people, than that of the duel, which is now seldom had recourse to. Among the better classes in all those countries, if a man finds that he has been injured in this respect, he deems it more honorable, as well as more sensible, to apply to the courts for redress, if he wants any, than to use either pistol or dagger.

Viewed in this light, it must be admitted that the conduct of Mr. Tilton toward Mr. Beecher, although by no means exemplary, shows that some progress has been made in our civilization. If his statements are true, it is certain that he has received as much provocation as any of those who, within the past decade or two, have shot down in cold blood the alleged

seducers of their wives, without giving them a moment's notice, or any opportunity of defending themselves. Those who censure Mr. Tilton most severely should bear in mind that at no time has he attempted or threatened any personal violence to Mr. Beecher. Whatever may be his faults, he has shown by his forbearance in this respect that it is not in vain that he has been a student, has studied philosophy, and has disciplined and exercised his reasoning faculties.

We have said, however, that his conduct has been by no means exemplary. By this we mean, that, although he has abstained from the violence of the gladiator, he has not abstained from the violence of the she fishmonger. There are thoughts, by no means deep-seated, which he has not yet fathomed. It is really but a vulgar notion, after all, that a man is dishonored by the infidelity of his wife. No one is dishonored who has not brought dishonor on himself by some act of his own. If Mr. Beecher has dishonored Mr. Tilton by seducing his wife, the greatest, most gifted, and most illustrious men of all ages and countries have been dishonored in a similar manner. The bravest captains, conquerors, kings and emperors have been "dishonored;" but who has esteemed any of them the less on this account? Yet how often do we hear the most worthless people talk about being dishonored, as if one could be injured in a thing he never possessed! In other words, it is too apt to be forgotten that a man can no more lose honor which he never had, than he can lose a horse, a cow, a donkey, or any other piece of property of which he has never been the owner. Nor is the truth of this set aside by the fact that it is those who have least honor, or no honor to lose, or be injured in any manner, that make the loudest outcry, or are most blood-thirsty when they fancy or pretend that they are "dishonored;" the same as the person who loses a few dollars or an empty purse, perhaps neither dollar nor purse, is more ready to cry "thief," "robber," "villain," etc., than he who is really robbed of a fortune.

We have reminded the reader that just in proportion as a people are barbarous, or deficient in intelligence and enlight-

enment, are they prone to violence and bloodshed in cases like that of Mr. Beecher. We are sorry to make this remark, as it seems to imply that our Southern fellow-citizens are not far removed from barbarism at the present day, for there need be little doubt that if the pastor of Plymouth church had been detected in the South in such "pastoral" performances as those attributed to him by Mr. Tilton in relation to his wife, he might never have been able to deliver another sermon, or make any "statement" in proof of his innocence. But our object is not to flatter, or even to please, North or South, but to tell the truth, feeling that in the long run it will prove much better, and consequently more friendly than flattery or praise. But the day will come when the Southerners, too, will cease to take the law into their own hands and act the part of the packed jury, the prejudiced judge, and the hired human butcher all combined. In the worst of times they were nothing worse in this respect than their English ancestors were. But centuries have past since the latter ceased to regard assassination and murder as justified by the seduction of wife or sister. The English of the present day view the whole matter in a different light. Even their statutes justly and wisely recognize the fact that even when the offence of adultery is fully proved or undeniable, it by no means follows that the woman was the party seduced. Like the French and the Germans, the English have adopted from the Roman law the principle that since a woman is a reasoning being, claiming to be the equal of man, it is absurd to treat her in this matter as if she were a child, or belonged to the lower species of animals. Be it remembered, that as long as the Romans viewed her in this light they enacted special laws for her protection, or, rather, for the protection of her husband; so that among the public functionaries were those whose sole duty it was to watch over the morals of the women and denounce such as were unfaithful to their husbands, so that the latter could divorce them at once.*

* Des institutions des Romains mettaient les femmes dans une perpétuelle tutelle, à moins qu'elles ne fussent sous l'autorité d'un mari. — Montesquieu. *De l'Esprit des Loix*, Liv. VII., c. xii.

For a part of the time of Sallust some of these laws were still in force; so that when he was in his thirtieth year (B. C. 50) his political opponents had him expelled from the senate for alleged adultery with the wife of a brother senator. This, however, did him no permanent injury. Only three years later he obtained the pretorship, and was restored to the senate. We need hardly say, in passing, that no intelligent, sensible person values the noble moral precepts of Sallust, both in his *Catilina* and his *Jugurtha* anything the less because he was not only accused of an offence like that charged against Mr. Beecher, but punished for it by expulsion. It should be remembered at the same time that, had Sallust been a priest, like Beecher, instead of being a politician and historian, his priestly career would have been at an end. In any case it does not appear that the "dishonored" husband would make any boisterous outcry, or that he would make use of any mutual friend to procure a salve for the wounds inflicted upon him.

However this may be, as we have alluded to those laws which regarded women as incapable of distinguishing right from wrong—at least, incapable, like Mrs. Tilton, of comprehending that anything which might pass between themselves and their spiritual advisers could be otherwise than proper and holy—we think it but fair to add that, although our leading newspapers have been severely censured for having given so much publicity to the details of the charge against Mr. Beecher and Mrs. Tilton, they can adduce as high authority for doing so as the most learned lawyer can adduce in support of any point he may make or maintain before judge or jury in the same case. In proof of this we quote the following testimony from Montesquieu, only premising that he is fully sustained in his opinion by all the ancient writers worthy of credence who have treated the subject. "*La loi romaine qui voulait que l'accusation de l'adultère fut publique était admirable pour maintenir la pureté de mœurs; elle intimidait les femmes; elle intimidait aussi ceux qui devaient veiller sur elles.*"*

* *De l'Esprit des Loix*, Liv. V., c. vii.

It is almost needless to say that those ladies who needed tutelage were particularly opposed to that part of the law against infidelity which required that all charges of adultery should be made in public, and in fact, receive as much publicity as possible; and, for the reason already mentioned, still more opposed to it, if possible, were the pious *patres patrati* and certain other *patres* who labored under infirmities such as those now attributed to the *pater patratus* of Plymouth church.

Although Cæsar was the most popular man of his time, he soon learned that he must either abandon all idea of the priestly office, or so regulate his conduct that at least he should give rise to no scandal. But once satisfied on this point he did not hesitate for a moment. He set a high value, in his youth, on the insignia of the *Patres Fetiales* as a means of gaining the hearts of the people; but when the question arose whether he would choose the insignia of the priesthood in preference to the intimate society of the ladies, the conqueror of the Gauls, and of Scipio and Pompey, wanted to be pious no longer!

Indeed there is nothing more remarkable in the history of that brave, powerful, and proud nation than the broad distinction which the Romans made between the priest and the layman in a moral point of view. Nor need we go beyond Cæsar for a sufficient illustration of this. He exchanged one wife for another at least four times, and each of the discarded ladies belonged to one of the first families in Rome. Such was his influence over the beautiful Cleopatra, that when she could not reach him by any other means, she had herself conveyed in a sack to his camp. And Plutarch informs us* that she had a child by him, which she called Cæsario. He made love in a similar manner to Eunoe, Queen of Mauritania. As for the Roman ladies with whom he had intrigues they were almost innumerable. Several are immortalized in Roman history, but it is not necessary that we should mention more

* Life of Cæsar, c. 13.

than two or three. One of these was Tertulla, the wife of Crassus, another Lollia, the wife of Gabinius, another Posthumia, the wife of Servius Sulpitius. Even the wife of his great rival, Pompey, was not safe from Cæsar, for it was notorious that he was intimate with Mutia. It was equally well known that he was intimate with Servilia, the sister of Cato, and mother of Marcus Brutus, so that Brutus was very generally regarded as the son of Cæsar.

We are informed by historians that all these ladies were beautiful and accomplished, but we are not informed that any of them had a Tilton for a husband or brother. Cæsar walked the street as freely as any other citizen of Rome; but no one ever made any attempt on his life, or tried to blackmail him on account of his amours. Pompey was quite aware of his intimacy with Mutia, his wife, but this did not prevent him from marrying Cæsar's daughter some years later.

But the most remarkable incident of all, and the one best calculated to show how much public opinion at Rome had changed in the course of one generation—since the Romans used to use the knife and the dagger the same as the Visigoths, Vandals, and Huns have since in similar cases—the same as the pistol and the bowie-knife are used to-day in the less enlightened districts of our own country—was that which occurred in the senate-house between Cato and Cæsar on the occasion of the great debate as to whether the followers of Catiline should be put to death or not. After Cæsar had delivered his immortal oration against capital punishment, and was about to withdraw, a letter was placed somewhat stealthily in his hand, but the movement did not escape the lynx eye of Cato, who at once called out to Cæsar to deliver up the letter—that it was no other than a communication from the conspirators. Everybody saw that Cæsar was unwilling to comply, but perceiving that by withholding it he should incur further suspicion as to his alleged sympathy with the conspirators, he handed it to Cato as required. The great censor read it anxiously, but finding, to his mortification, that it was nothing more nor less than a love-letter to Cæsar from his own daughter, Servilia, he threw it back to him saying, "*Ibi temulente!*"

It may well be asked, we are aware, what resemblance is there between Beecher and Cæsar? We admit there is none at all. If there be any truth or justice in the adage, "to the brave belong the fair," certainly there never lived one who had a better right to a picking choice than Cæsar. But the reverse of this is true of Beecher, according to the same adage, for even a tailor—vulgarly called the ninth part of a man—would hardly have mortgaged his house for \$5,000, and whined and blubbered, like an overgrown baby, to save him from exposure! At least, an innocent tailor would scarcely have betrayed such abject cowardice. As for comparing Beecher and Cæsar as authors, even with the "Life of Christ" thrown in with the Star Papers, it would be something like comparing the Adventures of Jack the Giant Killer to the Iliad of Homer, or the tragedies of Sophocles.

We have referred to Cæsar, at all, in this article only to show that, in proportion as a nation becomes enlightened, it sets aside its ferocity in affairs of the heart as well as in affairs of the stomach. It may be replied that what the Pagans have done in such delicate cases as that of Mr. Beecher is no criterion for a Christian people like us. This is very true; but will the same argument apply to the relations between Dante and Beatrice, and Petrarch and Laura? The husband or Beatrice was neither a Tilton nor a Sickles; nor was the husband of Laura. Nay, the spouses of those ladies seem to have felt more complimented than otherwise; and some of their descendants have written elaborate and learned works to claim the honor for them of having had wives capable of inspiring the passion of love in such men.* In these cases both ladies and gentlemen were good Catholics; they lived all their life among good Catholics, and among the warmest friends of each were princes of the church; illustrious ecclesiastics who were at once pious and learned. Yet there was no casting of stones, either real or metaphorical—no such scandalous uproar as that which the world has beheld during

* Vide N. Q. R., No. LIII., Art. *Petrarch and Laura*.

the last three months, not only in Brooklyn and New York, but in almost every city and town from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf of Mexico, and from the Pacific to the Atlantic. Our readers may remember that, some two years ago, we indulged in some gloomy forebodings in these pages, while criticising a work compiled by a Nun of the Sacred Heart,* as a textbook for young ladies, and in which the amours of the gods and goddesses were duly set forth by way of question and answer, as things useful to be studied and known in so enlightened an age as this, by the future wives and mothers of America! The questions about Juno and Venus—especially about the latter—and the answers to those questions, seemed to us ominous; for the pious authoress could not see that there was any great harm, after all, in the infidelities of the beautiful Aphrodite to so ugly a god and husband as Vulcan.

Far be it from us to say, or insinuate, however, that there is less virtue among Catholics than among Protestants, or that the former have not as high a sense of honor as the latter. The infirmity under consideration is neither Pagan nor Christian; neither Catholic nor Protestant; for it prevails to a greater or less extent among all sects and denominations, independently of rites and dogmas.

We have alluded above to the treatment which the Huns, Visigoths and Vandals gave those found guilty of adultery. Tacitus informs us that the ancient Germans were still more ferocious, if possible. As for the male, to be flayed alive, impaled, or to have his brains scattered about, was deemed a mild punishment for him. The punishment of the female commenced with cutting off or dragging out her hair; she was then stripped naked in the presence of her relatives, and the inhabitants of the whole village gathered to see that she was sufficiently beaten and bruised! This may seem an exaggeration, but if so it is not ours, but that of Tacitus.†

* Vide N. Q. R., No. L., Art. *New Catechism for Young Ladies: Gods and Goddesses*.

† *Accisis crinibus, nudatum, coram propinquis expellit domo maritus, ac per omnem vicum verberare agit*, etc.—*De Situ, Moribus, et Populis Germaniæ*, ch. xix.

Now, if we turn from the Germans of the time of Tacitus to the Germans of the present day, what a contrast shall we behold! There is no more orderly, or less violent, people in the world. And just in proportion as they attain the highest culture are they thus serene and peaceful in their domestic habits. It is universally admitted that German culture reached its highest development at Weimer, when Goethe, Schiller, Herder, Wieland, Klopstock, Jacobi, and Lessing were welcome and honored guests at the court of Karl August. Everybody acquainted with German literature is aware of the relations of Goethe with Charlotte (Lottie), the young wife of Kestner. But the only difficulty that arose from those relations was that Goethe had the bad taste to publish them to the world. Even then there was no great fuss—only a slight coolness for a while, which ended in entire forgiveness to Goethe—very unlike the forgiveness of Tilton to Beecher. Referring to the first meeting of Goethe and his wife, Kestner says: "No woman here had pleased him. Lotchen at once fixed his attention. * * * She quite fascinated him, the more so because she took no trouble about it." Further on the husband says: "There were many remarkable scenes in which Lotchen's behavior heightened my regard for her, and *he also became more precious to me as a friend*; but I was often inwardly astonished that *love can make such strange creatures* even of the strongest and otherwise the most self-sustained men. I pitied him, and had many inward struggles," etc. Again we read: "Goethe was constantly in Lottie's house, where his arrival was a jubilee to the children." True all this was prior to the publication of Werther. In order to console Kestner for the pangs he suffered for the indiscreet conduct of Goethe in revealing all in his book the author writes: "If you are generous, and do not wrong me, I will send you letters, cries, sighs after Werther, and if you have faith, believe that all will be well, and *gossip is nothing*, and weigh well your philosopher's letter, which I have kissed."*

* See Lewis's *Life and Works of Goethe*, vol. i., p. 231, *et seq.*

There was no Moulton, nor Carpenter, nor Wilkeson nor Johnson, in this case. Nor did the public think it was any part of its business to become excited, or raise any uproar. And be it remembered that Goethe, too, assisted at the marriage of the beloved one. While the Kestners were betrothed Goethe kept company with Lottie as much as he did after their marriage. There was but little change in this respect until Goethe became smitten by another. True, Goethe was not a preacher; when he made visits he did not pretend that they were "pastoral visits." He never called God or man to witness that he visited Lottie only to pray for her! Nor did he tell Lottie to leave her husband, that he was a bad man. And instead of going stealthily to any Bowen to advise him to deprive Kestner of his bread and butter, there was nothing he could do to serve or gratify Kestner but he faithfully did for the rest of his life.

It may be said that the Kestners were not of so much consequence as the Tiltons—that the former had not so much honor as the latter, and, therefore, could not be so much "dishonored." We will not argue this point, but we imagine that if it were worth while to bring the necessary amount of research to bear upon it the Kestners would be found at least as rich in the matter of honor as the Tiltons, even should there be a Bessie Turner on the other side!

But what of the Frau Von Stein? Here was the wife of a privy counsellor; a baroness and "Hofdame" (lady of honor), at the court of Carl August, the most munificent patron of literature, science, and the arts of his time. It was no secret to any one at Weimer that Goethe was in love with this highly aristocratic, cultivated and gifted lady; and it was quite as well understood that if his passion was not fully reciprocated it was at least graciously accepted and appreciated by the baroness. No one knew this better than the lady's husband. Goethe wrote to her daily as freely as if she were his betrothed mistress. His epistles are full of such expressions as "good night, angel, and good morning," "dearest creature," "You are always the same; always infinite love

and goodness." "Love me as ever," etc., etc. But these letters were placed in the hands of no Moulton; they gave rise to no pistol scene, or to any "prayerful tears, for that dear-beloved child, as pure as snow."

But let us turn to the picture on the other side. Goethe is sometimes called an infidel, and even an idolator; but none of his biographers inform us that he ever offered to humble himself, even to a privy counsellor and baron, as he would to his God. The Greeks and Romans had some very paltry gods, as we learn from Lucian and others; but among the meanest there was hardly one so shabby as Tilton has proved himself to be. Yet the great preacher would prostrate himself, in the plenitude of his innocence, before so miserable a deity, and then go round the corner and try to deprive him of his ambrosia!

But we have given the case of no Christian divine as an illustration, with the exception of his Holiness Alexander VI., who, it may be said, is no more a case in point, since he was not a Protestant, than David or Solomon of the old dispensation. But it is otherwise with the Rev. Jonathan Swift, and the Rev. Tobias Sterne, both of whom, we are told, were grossly libelled, in the matter of their virtue, by some of their contemporaries, although it does not appear that either was blackmailed, that either offered to go on his knees to the husband, father, or brother of his lady love, or that either mortgaged his house to raise hush-money! Neither was ever visited by a Moulton with pistol or dagger and called upon to "deliver!" Nor did their beloved ones fare worse than they, at the hands either of individuals or of the public. On the contrary, if we are to believe Mr. Thackeray, in one of his most pathetic moods, the ladies of Swift were regarded, and are to this day, as the "saints of English story." True, neither the Rev. Jonathan Swift, nor the Rev. Tobias Sterne, was accused of seducing the wife of his friend and parishioner. Moreover neither of these pretended to be a saint. That the author of *Gulliver's Travels* was no hypocrite our readers know, and that the author of *Tristram Shandy* put on no false

airs, and affected no "prayerful tears," all his biographers bear testimony. Perhaps nothing we could relate of Sterne thus, in passing, would show how frank he was in this respect, better than the following characteristic anecdote. Shortly after *Tristram* was published the author asked a Yorkshire lady, of high rank and fortune, whether she had read his work. "I have not, Mr. Sterne," was the reply, "and to be plain with you, I am informed it is not proper for female perusal." "My dear, good lady," replied the author, "do not be gulled by such stories; the book is like your young heir there (pointing to a child of three years old, who was rolling on the carpet in his white tunics), he shows at times a good deal that is usually concealed, but it is all in perfect innocence!"

We trust it is needless for us to say that we have not adduced the above instances by way of justifying adultery, or denying that it is injurious to society. As well might it be said that we justify murder, and regard it only as a trivial offence, because we maintain that even the murderer should not be murdered in turn, but allowed a fair trial. The object of every law worthy of the name is to protect society in one relation or another, in its life or its property. In proportion as a people are enlightened they bear this fact in mind, and abstain from acting as judges and juries individually in their own cases.

If a man finds that his wife has been guilty of infidelity, he has a remedy without violence. He has suffered a great calamity; most men of spirit regard it as worse than any other. Such rarely condone the offence; at the same time, if they are really gentlemen, men of honor in the proper sense of the term, or men who respect the laws of their country, they will use no violence to either wife or paramour. If they cannot pardon the wife from some extenuating circumstances in her case, they will separate from her, and except they are forced to apply to the courts for this purpose, they will create no public uproar.

Some of those mentioned in the preceding pages have separated from their wives on account of their infidelities, but

without creating any public scandal. This is true, for example, of the great Pompey, who divorced his wife, Mutia, on account of her intimacy with Cæsar; but that he married Cæsar's daughter afterwards, is sufficient evidence that he cherished no malice on that account toward the lady's paramour. Upon the other hand, the mighty Cæsar himself was "dishonored" by one of his wives, and he knew the fact; but he no more thought of a divorce in her case than did Kestner or the Baron Von Stein—perhaps we should rather say no more than did Marc Antony, Lucullus, or Cato, each of whom once found himself in the same unpleasant predicament.

But there is one feature in the Beecher-Tilton case which is certainly of a redeeming character. We entirely disagree with those who ridicule and condemn the commissioners of Plymouth Church, to whom Mr. Beecher committed his case, because they have refused to declare or admit his guilt, but have, on the contrary, declared him innocent. It should be remembered that it is but a spurious friendship that exhibits itself to us only when we are in prosperity, but which deserts us in our adversity, or which, when it finds us down, gives a hand in keeping us so. No one would be safe if there was not in human nature, with all its failings and shortcomings, more fidelity than this. There is no truer definition of friendship than is contained in the homely adage, "To my faults a little blind, and to my virtues very kind." If one is condemned by his own friends in whose regard for him he has confided, what may he expect from the cold world at large?

For the same reason, if the congregation of Plymouth Church merits condemnation, it is not because it has unanimously voted its pastor innocent in spite of all the multifarious evidence—much of it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to be set aside—adduced against him by his accusers. On the contrary, that unanimity bespeaks a generosity which is truly sublime. It shows that friendship is not merely a name; it shows, also, that man is grateful to those who devote themselves to his enlightenment and gratification, even though

the enlightenment and gratification they afford be not, perhaps such as lead to heaven.

But while we honor, rather than condemn, the congregation of Plymouth Church for clinging to their pastor in the hour of adversity, and doing all in their power to shield him from the assaults of his enemies, we confess we cannot see how he can continue to ascend the pulpit and preach. By persisting in doing so he would do more injury to religion than if he openly assailed it like Voltaire and Tom Paine. Fortunately, it is not necessary for Mr. Beecher, himself, that he should continue to set the public opinion of the whole religious world, outside of Plymouth Church, at defiance by officiating as a minister of the Gospel—as a spiritual adviser, a teacher and champion of virtue, as well as religion.

It is as well to recognize the fact that his prayers, no matter how loud and long they may be, can no longer be edifying even to Plymouth Church. Some of those very men who were so enthusiastic and demonstrative in voting him innocent would laugh at his "let us pray." It would occur to them that a sort of prayer, out of place in a Christian pulpit, would be much more appropriate for him. We would not present such to our readers in the vernacular tongue, even as a satire; but using the drapery of a dead language, we close our remarks with the following, only asking the initiated whether it is not as much in accordance with truth and honesty as anything the great preacher can say just now as a divine:

AD VENEREM.

Hanc amo, quæ me odit: contra, hanc, quoniam me amat, odi.

Compone inter nos, si potes, alma Venus.

Perfacile id faciam; mores mutabo, et amores.

ART. VII. — 1. *The Physiological Influence of Light*
FORBES WINSLOW, M. D., D. C. L.

2. *Notes on Hospitals.* FLORENCE NIGHTINGALE.

WE SUPPOSE man must be regarded as a sagacious animal of the prehensile sort. Like the ants and squirrels, he takes thought for the morrow in many ways, seizing every opportunity to supply his various wants despite the unequivocal injunction of the holy Man of Nazareth, whom he professes to pattern after and to obey. And while we find no fault with him for exercising an animal instinct of this kind, since he is manifestly the chief of animals, we cannot wholly excuse his neglect to mix a little more reason with that tendency, since he is also the lord of creation.

The human animal, like the prehensile order to which he belongs, anticipates and provides for every contingency but that of the just requirements of sickness and health. He stores his larder with food and drink, brews ale and whiskey, fills his barns with provender, builds spacious edifices for his habitation, provides charity for the indigent (instead of opportunity), jails and prisons for the wicked and lawless, etc. Nor is this all. Not only does he provide the wherewith to be comfortably fed, housed, clothed and adorned, but he also provides conveniences for the safekeeping of all his goods and treasures; safes, and safe-deposits for his bonds and bank-account; schools and churches for purposes of education and religion; art for culture and amusement; government for the welfare and stability of society; law for the conservation of the social state and the requirements of civilization, etc. In this general summary of acts of prevision must also be included those that relate to the final disposition of his body and soul—to his temporal and spiritual future. He lays up treasures in heaven to await his coming; he prepares for death; makes wills and devises; buys a lot in the village cemetery for prospective occupation; builds a tomb to hold his bones when he shall have no further use for them, etc. Now, this is all

very wise and prudent in him, so far as it goes. But it is inadequate for the occasion. There is no wise provision for sickness. Except the family doctor, often a poor one at that—a mere lethean companion to the grave—there is no intelligent provision in the household for his proper care and treatment when ill and infirm, and for those of his household, though he knows both are as sure to come in the order of events as his tailor's bill, foul air, or family broils.

Now this is an obvious oversight in any well-regulated household. An apartment adapted to the care and convenience of the sick is as important a desideratum in the household as one for eating or sleeping, and vastly more important than an apartment for billiards or croquet; and yet it is the one least thought of and most lightly regarded. There is no estimating the benefit that would come to the family through a wisely appointed and apportioned chamber for the sick. Its advantages would be incalculable. The hours of pain and suffering it would save; the precious time it would preserve; the money it would economize; the discomforts it would remove; the mists and shadows it would dispel; the depression and gloom it would dissipate; the minds it would compose, cheer and enliven; and perhaps, what is of more consequence still, the days it would prolong to poor, sinful mortals, to whom death is a terror of unutterable horror, may be mentioned among its blessings. Surely, these are no small advantages, and not unworthy the serious consideration of him who takes high rank among God's foresighted creatures.

The ancient Romans built *Solaria*, or solar air-baths, on their house-tops, where their children could play, in a state of nature, and be daily baptized with solar showers pure and fresh from the eternal sun. In this respect they were wiser in their day and generation than their descendants in the nineteenth century; for the latter have not yet risen to this grand comprehension of the uses of solar light in the animal economy; or, if they have, their ideas are of a theoretical sort, which fail of appreciation by the practical minds of the day in the architectural appointments of the modern household.

Is not this a grave defect of our civilization? However beautiful and convenient our dwellings may be in other particulars, in respect to arrangements for sunlight, pure air and water, the plainest dictates of good sense and sanitary science are disregarded.

The occupants of the modern house are shut out from those health and life giving influences, which must come to them, if at all, in the solar ray and the balmy air. The consequence of this solar isolation is physical deterioration and disease. The strongest of our women soon became etiolated and infirm; the feeble decline into chronic invalidism; the sick linger beyond their natural time of convalescence, if, indeed, they do not die; a simple malady becomes a complicated one; and what was a trifle in the beginning runs into a serious disorder and brings in its train pains and perils without end.

Thus the demands of both sick and well require the radical reconstruction of the household; the well, to keep them so; the sick, in order to get well. How often we find men, half sick, resisting the advice of the doctor and their own inclinations to stay home and be nursed, for the reason say they, that if they do they will surely be ill; and once in bed they will never get out again. "Oh, I should die confined in-doors!" says one. There is much practical sense and shrewd foresight in their determination, for they feel their vital dependence on out-door influences, and the perils of an in-door atmosphere. But the case would be far different if they had properly solarized homes—homes utilizing the hygienic influences of the heavens—to go to. They are worn and weary with the business cares of life, perhaps, and urgently need the rest and rejuvenation which under their abnormal surroundings of home life they dare not take, indeed, cannot get. Thus they struggle on under fresh resolution and stimulus, until they recover, or sink into complete exhaustion and, possibly, irreparable disease.

An indispensable complement, therefore, of a properly appointed dwelling is an apartment for sick folk—a room which we will call a sanitarium; an apartment constructed

with special reference to the wants of the sick, and in such a way as to furnish the necessary adjuvants of health and convalescence.

There is no need of a long argument in support of this proposition, for the experience of managers of hospitals, asylums and the sanitary departments of the boards of health of our cities have long since placed the subject beyond the pale of rational controversy. Recoveries from disease through the influence of light are numerous—and might be still more numerous—that had long resisted the most approved agencies of the medical art. The Sanitarium will utilize in the most efficient manner this great influence. All nature loves light better than darkness. Who has not observed the corroboration of instinct in this particular? The vine confined in the dark grows in the direction of the light; the flowers, when isolated from the rays of the sun, bend their petals in unnatural positions toward the light. The sick likewise turn their faces instinctively to the light, even though it pain their eyes.* The lower animals seek the light and avoid darkness. The products of shade, moreover, are blanched and bloodless; those of sunshine are deep-colored and vigorous; the blood of the one is weak and watery; that of the other is rich in iron and vitality. Creatures confined in darkness are stunted, lifeless and diseased; those exposed to sunlight are well-formed, active and healthy. The higher the organization, the more intimate is its dependence upon light. Some of the lower animals mature in a minimum of light; man requires a maximum of it for his growth and development. In illustration of this truth compare the inhabitants of narrow, sunless streets and low, filthy tenements, with those of the free air and sunny

* Miss Florence Nightingale says that, "It is a curious thing to observe how almost all patients lie with their faces turned to the light, exactly as plants always make their way towards the light; a patient will even complain that it gives him pain lying on that side." 'Then why do you lie on that side?' He does not know—but we do. It is because it is the side towards the window."—*Notes on Nursing*, p. 87.

homes on the broad avenues in our large cities. Compare the rates of mortality of the two classes.

The contrast is remarkable, but not at all surprising. A similar result is exhibited in the mortality of the sick who occupy shaded rooms, as compared with that of those who occupy rooms with a sunny exposure. In the hospitals of St. Petersburg, Sir James Wyley found that the proportion of recoveries was as four to one in favor of the latter. The fact was so remarkable that it led to a complete revolution in hospital architecture in the Czar's dominions; the improvements being such as to afford all the sick and wounded the advantage of rooms with a sunny exposure.*

These are the reasons which lead us to advise the construction of a Sanitarium in the household. The idea is a natural outcome of the light of civilization. The requirements of the sick and the welfare of the household are its justification. Unless the idea is embodied in the appointments of our homes, our infirm will have to seek a safer retreat in the modern hospital, where the natural agencies of convalescence are utilized for the special benefit of the invalid.

Let us, then, examine this want of the household more in detail. In the first place, the Sanitarium should have a thorough sunny exposure. Let it be a southern extension of spacious proportions, and high enough above the ground to be unobstructed by the shade of adjacent shrubs or trees.

It should have spacious windows, properly curtained, for the entrance and exclusion of sunlight. The ceiling should

* Apropos of the influence of light upon disease, it is related that a lady was brought to the distinguished physician Dupuytren, suffering a complication of maladies that had long resisted the efforts of many physicians. Dupuytren, feeling certain that the resources of medicine had been exhausted upon the case, directed that the lady should change her dark rooms in a shaded street for those that were sunny in a sunny part of the city (Paris). She was also to be taken out in the sunshine a great deal. The result was soon manifest by her speedy and permanent cure. We mention it as an example of a very common experience in the practice of observant physicians.

be high, and, if practicable, dome-like, and transparent, so that no kindly influence from the heavens shall be barred an entrance. The walls should be constructed of some porous material made durable, or some durable material made porous, which, like plaster of Paris, would admit free ingress and egress of atmospheric air through its interstices; thus securing what builders and architects have long been striving for, but have never yet been able to obtain, the perfection of ventilation. The floor of the apartment should be girdled with iron pipes for the introduction of heat in cold weather. And, as an auxiliary to ventilation, a miniature fountain of running water might be easily introduced into the room. This would secure proper moisture to the air, and serve also to absorb and carry away all undue accumulations of that deadly bane of the household and sick-room, carbonic acid gas. In the pleasantest part of this spacious apartment place the couch for the patient—a cozy framework of iron, with mattress of wire, and pillows of air, all of them arranged for comfort, and with as much taste and luxury as linen and wool and ornamental work could make it. The bed, would, therefore, be airy and light, and its clothing easily changed and ventilated; thus preventing many sources of impurity and disease which now afflict the sick-chamber. The floor of this health apartment should be of wood—ornamental if desired—but no foul device of dust-and-dirt-catching tapestry should cover its nakedness. The furniture should be selected with strict regard for health, elegance and convenience. It could not be upholstered, of course; for upholstered articles soon become filled with all manner of dust and organic débris, and while they may add an appearance of elegance and luxury, their comfort is a sham, their convenience of doubtful quality; and the dust and infusoria with which they impregnate the air forbid the idea of their being health-promoting. Such articles of household furniture are an unfailing source of evil in the air, and of disease in the lungs, blood and brain; and if they are tolerated in the sick-chamber at all, let it be in the homes of those who can afford to be sick, or of those who prefer chronic invalidism to manly vigor and good health—if such there be.

These arrangements may be regarded as extravagant—perhaps Utopian. Yes, they are amenable to this charge, it is true. But then the occasion calls for a little extravagance. The outlay required for the purpose, however, would not be a tenth of that of a herbarium, or an aviary, or a modern conservatory for flowers, which frequently accompanies the modern house. The annual saving of doctor's bills would alone more than suffice to recompense the outlay, and to keep the Sanitarium in running order. Besides, it could be used as a Solaria for children, when not required for the occupation of the sick. But if it *were* an expense, the physical and moral advantages derived from it would more than compensate for the cost incurred.

The Sanitarium, however, is not yet complete. Arrangements have, indeed, been suggested to secure abundance of pure, genial air, and the vitalizing, health-giving forces of the solar beam. But these advantages are not sufficient to meet all the wants of sentient invalids. There are moral influences which are only second in importance to the physical. While we cannot pretend to exhaust the list of these, since they comprehend an infinity of subtle agencies, we will briefly indicate a few of such as are more closely identified with the proper appointments of any sick-room.

And, in the first place, the moral influence of an apartment, such as we have briefly described, is by no means inconsiderable. The pure, sweet air; the cheerful sunlight; the spacious walls; the high ceiling, produce a beneficent effect upon the mind, and contribute largely to sustain the spirit, preserve the balance of the bodily functions, and promote convalescence. The moral effect of these environments on the invalid is wonderful! They are all effective remedies. The mind of the invalid through their influence is withdrawn from self and selfish contemplations; the higher faculties are awakened into wholesome activity; the lower and more immediately vital, soothed and comforted; and nature carries forward her works of repair and conservation undisturbed by that most meddlesome of all meddlesome agents, the human will.

It is difficult to over-estimate the value of these moral surroundings in the sick-room. He who disregards them in any class of diseases and deals exclusively with the clear logic of cold reason, is never a successful physician, though he may be a learned doctor or a skilful surgeon. Reason in the sick-room! The idea of such an absurdity is enough to bring a smile to the face of any genuine medical man! Reason in the company of fashionable women! reason in love, hate, or matrimony! reason with a woman's prejudices, or a man's appetite! reason in belief! reason in the nursery! reason under any of these circumstances would be no less out of place than reason in the sick-room. Reason is well enough in its way. But let its exercise be confined to healthy folk of the stronger sort—and not then unless it is genuine!

Moreover, pictures and works of art are important accompaniments of a sick-room. If their influence be purely moral, it is none the less potent in convalescence. If they are essential to mental poise in the will, they are equally so in the sick. We believe their presence would do much to restrict the abnormal tendency to dose which has become a chronic habit with so many good people. They give the mind an elevating tendency; they inspire pure thoughts, and ennoble the instincts. Surely, such influences are as curative in ague, or rheumatism, as colchicum or cholagogue, and instead of confining the sphere of their operation to the drawing-room or study, it should be extended to the abodes of the sick and suffering. It is a short sight that fails to appreciate the just value of moral agencies in the cure of disease, and that dooms the human, when ill, to the exclusive operation of those agents which are equally applicable to the treatment of the diseases of a beast.

The influence of flowers, is, also, of value in the sick-room and to the sick. Flowers appeal to the æsthetic sense, and quicken faculties and emotions which would otherwise be dormant and inoperative upon the spirit. If

“A thing of beauty is a joy forever,”

it is impossible to define the limit of the influence of these

beautiful productions of the floral kingdom upon man, either in health or disease. No one, who has not been ill much, and shut up within the narrow confines of the four walls of a small bedroom, can have any idea of the effect of a bouquet upon the emotions! It unfolds a new world of delightful sensations. The weary powers are refreshed by them; the despondent spirit cheered and encouraged; new hopes, new joys, new and better thoughts are awakened in the mind; and all nature and God seem nearer and lovelier through the influence of the flowers. Moreover, every tint has its characteristic effect upon the mental powers. The red tint stimulates; the violet soothes and comforts; the blue depresses; the white elevates and refines, etc. These effects of flowers are very peculiar; and while we are not able to penetrate the secret of them, we are forced to recognize their potential quality upon the nervous powers.

There are other influences exerted by flowers, however, of a more material if not of a more palpable kind, which make their presence in the sick-room of peculiar interest. They disinfect and purify the air. The action of their perfumes upon the atmosphere is to manufacture ozone, an agent allied to, but more active than, oxygen in destroying the noisome elements of organic life. The narcissus, heliotrope, lemon-tree, verbenas, etc., are endowed with special virtues in this direction. Indeed, the appointments of the nursery, or Sanitarium, cannot be regarded complete without the presence of some of these beautiful flowers and flowering shrubs to sweeten the air and enliven the moral environments. But plants exhale a poisonous gas at night? Yes, they do, we suppose. And what of it? Do we ever find virtue without alloy? Sweet without bitter? Pleasures without pain? The purest pleasures have their pangs. The solar ray sometimes destroys. The dews of heaven distil poison. The wind that kisses the fields and foliage, and renews nature's life blood, wafts pestilence in its round. The flower, while breathing perfume and imparting the divinest effluence to the air, leaves also, in its hours of repose, an infinitesimal portion of carbonic acid—a

little bitter with so much sweet ! It is ungrateful to mention it, the compensations are so largely in excess. Let us rejoice, then, in those beneficent offsprings of light, the beautiful flowers, and make offerings of them to the living, as well as to the dead.

Finally, we trust these suggestions for the sick and the comforts of home may not be regarded as altogether Utopian or impracticable. The interest which man has in life, in its best estate, adjures him to give the subject his serious attention. It is idle to talk about the expense involved. Restrain the indulgence of some of the pet appetites. Abjure tobacco smoking, and ale and whiskey drinking. Curtail the tailor's account, and (with the wife's consent) the milliner's and dress-maker's bills. Buy less silk, velvet, and other foreign fabrics of expensive quality. Empty the parlors—those useless, show room appendages of the modern house—of their idle and senseless objects of adornment. Keep one or two horses, or none, instead of three, four or six ; and one or two carriages, instead of half a dozen. The savings from these retrenchments would support the most wholesome and luxurious Sanitarium for children, the sick and the convalescent, that science and art could suggest, or that man could construct.

ART. VIII.—*Catalogues and Circulars of Schools, Academies, Colleges, Universities, etc., passim.*

If the pile of these documents now on our table were torn into leaves it would cover an amount of space which, if stated in round numbers, would seem fabulous. But, of the whole number, not more than ten per cent. have been sent us by their compilers or owners. Most of the remainder have been furnished to us by parents and guardians who claim that they have been cheated ; and not a few have come from former pupils of the institutions which those documents represent.

Thus, the large majority are accompanied with requests that they be criticised; and it must be admitted that in a great many instances, if not in all, good reasons are assigned for those requests.

It will be easy to understand, then, that were we to devote this whole paper—let its length be what it may—to criticisms, there would still be many catalogues which we could not even mention. We have no such intention, however. This time, except in one or two instances, we prescribe for ourselves the much more agreeable task of indicating the merits of some of those institutions which, in our opinion, are really meritorious. But inasmuch as the terms “good,” “excellent,” “first-class,” etc., are but relative, it becomes necessary to institute comparisons. At least, this is our view; and we beg the reader to bear in mind that in no case do we assume anything more than to give our opinion.

It never has been disputed by intelligent, impartial men, that educational institutions are legitimate subjects of criticism. It has been justly held that those teachers of worldly knowledge whose teaching cannot bear criticism are not the right class. Even in those countries and ages in which thought has been most fettered this principle has been recognized, except in those instances in which the despotic ruling power has hedged in its pet institution with pains and penalties. Nor have the “pains and penalties” always proved a sufficient shield against criticism for false pretences. We might easily illustrate this by examples, but it is needless; sufficient will suggest themselves to our readers.

In all countries in which the press enjoys any real freedom, editors are regarded as public instructors; and so it must be admitted they are. Editors, in general, are not expected to be so learned as professors in academies, colleges, and universities; nor do they claim anything of the kind. Yet, what editor pretends that the journal he conducts is so sacred a thing that it should be exempt from criticism? Who does not regard himself as having a perfect right to expose the ignorance of an editor? Need we say that the editor who would deny this

right—even though he should not whine, groan, or try to move heaven and earth against his critic—would only render himself ridiculous? Yet a head-master, president, chancellor, or provost, who pretends that his institution gives thorough instruction in every branch of human knowledge, will scold, abuse, and threaten, like a wash-woman defrauded of her bill, if his manifest ignorance, vulgarity, and imposture are only hinted at.

True, there is nothing new in all this; nothing peculiar to our country or age. Our quack educators are no worse than our quack doctors, or a score of other tribes of charlatans we could mention—most of which, indeed, we have fully portrayed from time to time in these pages.

It is in no egotistic spirit that we ask the reader to bear in mind that no public writer ever gave his opinions freely of his contemporaries who was not accused of the vilest motives for doing so. Not one of this class who, if we are to believe those whom he “attacked,” was not a “blackmailer” of the deepest die. Thus, for example, it is only necessary to read Aristophanes’ “Clouds” in order to see what a shameful “blackmailer” Socrates was! If this is not convincing let the curious reader turn to the testimony of Eupolis.* Every intelligent student of the classics knows what a horrible “blackmailer” Lucian was! Still worse, if possible, was Juvenal. Even Horace, who pretends to be so genial, “blackmailed” at least a score of honest and honorable people! He had the baseness, while thus blackmailing, to praise Mæcenas and others, not because they deserved praise or anything of the kind, but because they were friendly and kind to himself! Voltaire was a notorious “blackmailer.” It was because the Catholic Church refused to give him patronage that he assailed it as he did! His numerous personal “attacks” on the Jesuits were made because the good Fathers of his time were close-fisted and mean in matters pecuniary. The similar sins of Bayle had their origin in the same “blackmailing” propen-

* *Schol. ad Nub.*, 180.

sity. What a reprobate "blackmailer" Michael Angelo was when he placed his eminence the Cardinal in hell, because he would not pay him his price for his picture, so that even Leo X. could not redeem him. Has not the world been informed in a hundred biographies that Luther was a most incorrigible "blackmailer?" What cared he for the sale of indulgences, we are told, if he only got a part of the proceeds himself! As for Swift, that of "blackmailing" is one of the mildest of the charges made against him by such of his innocent victims as Mr. Wood, "the bad half-penny man," who, like Goliath, was "all over brass!"

But not one of these "blackmailers" was accused even by his enemies of pretending to teach others what he was ignorant of himself, and thus obtaining money under false pretences. Not one of them is accused of being an impostor or a charlatan. In no biography that we have ever seen of any of them is the subject represented as a coward, who, because trembling with fear at the slightest danger of having his ignorance, incapacity, and false pretences exposed, imagines he can frighten others by braying threats, somewhat after the fashion of the degenerate Druids of Wales, who fancied they could drive off the Roman legions by making hideous outcries and uproar. We are reminded particularly of the Druids at this point, because, curiously enough, none have tried so hard to frighten us by foolish threats as two or three persons who call themselves ministers of the Gospel.

Here we beg leave to introduce a little episode which most of our readers will regard as somewhat curious. It would seem incredible to many that a person who pretends to combine the functions of a minister of the Gospel and head-master of an Academy would deliberately write anybody an abusive, threatening letter, calling him names like a pot-house lackey. Yet not more than a week ago we were the recipient of just such a clerical, educational epistle, and one extending to six closely-written pages, in which we are informed that if we "attempt to stigmatize this institution,"—that is, if we attempt to criticise his work as an educator—we shall rue the day—if,

indeed, we survive the castigation that awaits us! Although the threatening letters we have received in our time, from just such persons as he has proved himself to be, would form quite a large heap, no other such missive has astonished us so much as this. Not that we could have expected anything very creditable from its author, after we had learned from himself what he is.

But in order that this may be understood it is necessary to mention a few facts. Some six months ago we received a letter from "Rev. Francis D. Blakeslee, A. B., Principal and Professor of Moral and Mental Science," and headed in imposing, fancy capitals, "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University," accompanied with quite a quantity of printed documents—eulogies, testimonials, &c. The avowed object of this communication was to inquire what would be the cost of a page for the insertion of the prospectus of his institution. As soon as convenient we gave the information which we supposed was required, adding that we are not disposed to be exact as to rates with educational institutions.

Be it remembered that we had never heard either of Mr. Blakeslee or his Academy before; nor had we been aware that there was such an institution as "Boston University" in existence. But our readers know how highly we think, not only of the educational institutions of Boston, but of those of Massachusetts in general. Accordingly we concluded at once that Boston University must be something good, and prompted by this view we resolved to stop at East Greenwich on our next trip to Boston. This we did at the beginning of May last. We were quite pleased with the grounds of the Academy; also with the buildings; our only fault of the latter being that they seemed to us to suggest a deplorable scarcity of water, brooms, shovels, soap, etc. This at least, thought we, is not Athenian, for of all the educational institutions we had visited there were none like it in this respect, with the sole exception—(as the truth in such cases should be told)—of Amenia Seminary. But there is an excuse for the latter, situated as it is almost in the midst of a low quagmire, so that it really reminded us of the Egyptian locust plague described

by Moses; for as the locusts would climb up on the tables, and into the beds, crawl over people's faces, hands, feet, etc., so did the dirt seem to us to make its slimy way, everywhere, at Amenias.* At East Greenwich the strata of alluvial or organic matter were not so thick, but they were far too thick to be Athenian, or anything else that is agreeable, or that makes the least approach to godliness!

Our first impression on seeing the head-master was that he is neither a man nor a boy. His age does not seem more than about twenty-five, but he really struck us as much more like a Chatham street Jew in his style of dress, as well as in his physiognomy and manners, than like a clergyman of any church. The good-natured reader will think we merely indulge in a joke—a malicious joke, perhaps—when we say that the moment we heard the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee lift up his voice and pray—for we were just in time for morning service—he reminded us of — Charlemagne. We think we hear already the exclamation, pshaw! How could that be? But hold! In Charlemagne's time some of the clergy regarded it as an impious thing to make any use of such profane works as those of Virgil and Cicero. In order that their ears should be no longer offended with the language of Paganism, the good Abbé de Saint-Mihiel gave orders that in future all quotations used to embellish writings or orations should be taken from the works of the saints. The effect of this may be easily

* Nor is this the only point in which there is a certain similarity between the two institutions. We shall never forget a little incident which occurred during our visit to Amenias last May. Among the recitations which we were allowed the privilege of hearing was one of the "mixed class" on botany. While this was progressing, though in rather a lame sort of a way, the head-master informed us that he did not understand botany himself, but that he *knew enough of it to teach it!* The first part of the statement was sufficiently evident; the second part rather puzzled us for a moment; but, nevertheless, we assented. We were favored with several similar educational precepts by the head-master of East Greenwich; precepts which were certainly new to us, although we have travelled a good deal, and visited a pretty large number of educational institutions both in Europe and America.

imagined; it was such that Charlemagne deemed it necessary to issue a circular letter to the bishops and abbés of Gaul to counteract it. In this curious document the following remarks occur: "In order to please God," says the Emperor, "we should lead a blameless life; but there is another way of pleasing Him, namely, *speaking correctly*. Can one, *without outraging Him*, chant His praises in a discourse *plastered over (herissé) with solecisms and barbarisms?*"*

This is all the way in which we can account for having been so forcibly reminded of Charlemagne by Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, or rather by the prayer of that divine.

But, service being over, his attentions to us became overwhelming at once; indeed, they were so to a degree that excited our suspicion at a very early stage of our acquaintance. He brought us up and down, hither and thither, until we had to beg to be excused. We were present at two recitations, but they were more unlike any of the recitations we had heard in Boston than the East Greenwich strata alluded to are unlike any Boston strata in school or academy buildings. We were asked, rather hesitatingly, to propose some questions, but having no wish to make the recitation scene anything more confused or ludicrous than it was, we respectfully declined.

We certainly indulge in no exaggeration, but state the simple truth, when we say that we have heard vastly better recitations at the Boston common schools. More than once we have spent hours at the Gardner High School, listening to recitations in Latin, and we can truly affirm that those of the third or fourth class were better than those of the first class of "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." As for the recitations of such Boston schools as the Gannett Institute, it would be a great injustice—almost an insult—to the young ladies of the latter to compare them with the East Greenwich recitations in any other way than to have the primary classes in the former institution recite side by side with the senior classes in the latter. We could say the same of several

* *Vide Dom Bouquet's Historiens de la France*, t. v., p. 621.

other female schools we have visited much nearer home as we have of the Gannett Institute, in comparison with "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University"—of Mlle. Rostan's School, in this city, for example; of Poughkeepsie Female Academy; of the Chegaray Institute, Philadelphia; of Mlle. Tardivel's School, New York, etc.

East Greenwich Academy is what in vulgar parlance is called "a mixed school"—that is, it admits both sexes as students; but we no more mention this as a reproach than we do the youth of the head-master. Our readers know what our views are of mixed schools, like Fort Edward Institute and Pennington Seminary; but we beg the pardon of the Rev. Dr. King and Prof. Dilks for speaking of their institutions in the same paragraph with "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." We have really seen no more striking contrast anywhere than the latter presents to either of the former in the matter of order and decorum in the relations of the male and female students to each other. We begged leave to ask the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee whether he did not think there was some danger in the "free and easy" plan of his institution. By this we do not mean to insinuate that we saw any impropriety further than that the male and female students sat beside each other, in pairs, at table and elsewhere, and seemed to admire each other's conversation and *eyes* very much! The head-master assured us that was all right, and in proof of the fact he proceeded to inform us that it was at a "mixed college" he got his wife. He told us what college it was, but all we remember in this regard is that it was a Western institution of which we had never heard before. We confess it struck us at the moment that, for more than one reason, it must indeed be a "mixed" affair!

Before we were favored with the enlightened views of the head-master, or had an opportunity of hearing any of the recitations, it occurred to us as somewhat strange that, while the location is certainly a beautiful one, and the terms are the lowest we know, at least half the seats are empty—perhaps two-thirds. We took the liberty of expressing some wonder

why the intelligent people of New England are not more appreciative than this, but the explanation we received was, that the former head-masters had sundry faults; but with the "views" and the "recitations" in our mind, we could no longer wonder that the supply of seats and desks was greatly in excess of the demand at "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University;" and so far as the cheapness was concerned, it reminded us of the cheapness of a Bowery nether garment as compared to a Broadway one.

Although we had left our valise at the hotel and ordered dinner there, we easily enough allowed ourselves to be persuaded to dine with the male and female students, professors, head-master, head-mistress, etc., etc. We find no fault whatever with the dinner. All we claim in this respect is that students, like other young people, should be allowed sufficient wholesome food; and that allowance was given on the present occasion. That the fish and accessories could not have cost the institution more than about fifteen cents a head, all told, is no reflection on the dinner. We refer to it at all, rather "fishy" as it was, only to give our readers a sample of the elegant manners (*vide* Catalogue) which are characteristic of "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." We have only room to remark in this hurried sketch, that on our right at table sat an overgrown youth of about eighteen. Whenever this gentleman wanted a fresh supply he would give us a sort of push on the shoulder or arm, saying, "Pass the butter!" "Want some bread!" or "Shove along that plate!" as the case might be. We certainly do not mention this because we felt annoyed. Far from having any such feeling, we were never more amused in our life; nor did we ever obey any injunctions more cheerfully than we did those of our rustic friend on our right.

But we were not long in the company of "the Rev. Francis D. Blakeslee, Principal and Professor of *Moral and Mental Science*," when we saw plainly enough what he wanted from us. We cannot say, however, but his conversation and general educational plan suggested to us some thoughts at once

classic and useful. Thus, for instance, his first great display of friendship reminded us, rather forcibly, of the precept of Juvenal:

“*Fronti nulla fides.*” *

Further on in our acquaintance old Sallust came to our aid, with the hint, “*Aliud clausum in pectore, aliud in lingua promptum habere* ;” and so all the fair speeches and fine promises of our pretended patron availed him nothing in our case.

Now, will the reader please to bear in mind, that notwithstanding all we had seen and heard, notwithstanding how we had been trifled with, and put to trouble under pretence of giving us patronage, we did not as much as allude to East Greenwich Academy, or its head-master, in our next number, which was not issued for seven weeks after our visit to that institution. We thus passed the whole affair over in silence, partly because we did not think the head-master and his Academy worth the trouble of a criticism, and partly because, although we knew nothing of Boston University, we took it for granted that it must have some gentlemen connected with it, who would not sanction any such conduct as that of Mr. Blakeslee, and whom, therefore, we should not like to offend on account of it. All we did then was to write a private note to Blakeslee, telling him that the course he had pursued toward us was unworthy of an educator, and still more unworthy of a minister of the Gospel; and that he ought not pursue such again, however general may be the belief, among a certain class, that it is but the duty of editors to write eulogies, even on the merest nonentities, who happen to be thrust into positions for which they have not the smallest qualification.

In return for a little wholesome advice, given really in no unfriendly spirit, and evidently much needed, he foolishly tries to frighten us by threats, dreading, because conscious of his guilt, that we would unmask him, although, for the reasons already mentioned, we had no such intention. We

* Sat., ii., 8.

defy him to show anything that would imply we had. In order that his threats may have the more force, he informs us that he "has consulted some of the best *and strongest men* of the M. E. Church," and that those "best and strongest men" have authorized him to say, &c. The terrible calamity we are to await, if we "attempt to stigmatize" East Greenwich Academy of Boston University, is a general onslaught on us by the newspapers! These righteous vindicators of injured innocence and worth, when duly inspired by "the best and strongest men of the M. E. Church," will extinguish us! We ought to tremble, perhaps, but we try to adopt the precept "sufficient for the day is the evil thereof."

And we are just as little angry as we are afraid. In proof of this we will mention to the Rev. "Professor of Moral and Mental Science" some worthy persons, who will not only sympathize with him heartily in his laudable enterprise for the extermination of the National Quarterly, but also give contributions for "a consummation so devoutly to be wished." Let him first apply to the most notorious of the quack doctors and manufacturers of infallible drugs; then to the presidents, vice-presidents, &c., of quack insurance companies, dead and moribund. There are few of these who will not subscribe, if they are not prevented by the "hard times." The publishers of a certain class of books will also lend a hand; so, perhaps, will some of their hired puffers and "popular authors." The Hon. Peter Bismarck Sweeny, formerly head naturalist of the Central Park, and "Brains" of the Tammany Ring, would be sure to contribute handsomely if he could only be found; so would the Hon. William Tweed, of Blackwell's Island Castle, &c. The Hon. Oakley Hall could tell from actual experience how much one gains by attacking the National Quarterly, in the newspapers, in vindication of his worthy colleagues, and showing that that journal is actuated only by "spite and malice," those colleagues being, as everybody knows, "high-minded, honest, and honorable men!"

If the reverend "professor of moral and mental science" prefers the aid and sympathy of his own tribe, then we would

refer him at once to the learned Provost of the University of Pennsylvania. There is scarcely one of the whole faculty of that renowned institution who would not contribute more or less in money or hard names. As for head-masters of institutes, seminaries, etc., on the Delaware, and the Sound, as well as on the Hudson—that is, head-masters of the Blakeslee stamp—all would be only too glad to contribute to so righteous a purpose. In the mean time, we humbly think it might be well to send the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, A. B., to some one of the several colleges constituting “Boston University,”—to “the College of Liberal Arts,” for instance, “the College of Music,” “the School of *All Sciences*,” or “the School of Medicine.” We are assured that the Violin professor in the College of Music exercises considerable influence on “moral and mental science.” Professors in the other colleges are also said to have great power in this direction; but, if we are not much mistaken, the treatment which would be most appropriate in the present case would be that of Dr. Mary Safford Blake, clinical lecturer on *Diseases of Women*.

Doubtless, many of our readers have come to the conclusion that our relations with the heads of educational institutions must form a bed of thorns for ourselves, instead of a bed of roses. It is not so, however. We can say without fear of contradiction that no educator worthy of the name has ever treated us otherwise than courteously and kindly—nay more, there is not one of our first-class educators to whom we are not indebted for kindness in one form or another. The same mail—or a few mails earlier or later—that brought us the abusive, threatening letter of the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, brought us very different communications from several educators of a very high reputation for learning, ability, and success. In proof of this we beg leave to do what we never did before—that is, we give two or three extracts from some of these letters. This liberty we certainly should not take, however, did we not sincerely believe that the letters alluded to do credit to their writers. Thus, the first we happen to take up is one from the Rev. Dr. D. A. Holbrook, Principal of the Holbrook Mili-

tary School, Sing Sing, N. Y., dated August 25, 1874, and which reads as follows:

"DEAR SIR: About two weeks ago I was in 'the City,' and one of my objects was to call upon you for the purpose of inserting an advertisement. I would be glad to know the cost of a half page for one year with inclosed advertisement.

"I should like also to subscribe for the Quarterly. If you will send me, or let your bookkeeper, a statement of the two items, I will remit check."

We replied thankfully, just in the same spirit as we did to the reverend person who now abuses and threatens us. But, unlike that person, the Rev. Dr. Holbrook writes back as follows:

"DEAR SIR: I accept your kind offer, for half a page, at \$200 per year."

* In the same letter Dr. Holbrook says:

"Either you, or your representative, will be welcome at any or all times to visit my school. I try to do my best always, but I feel so far short of my own ideals that I am sure you will never see more defects than I do.

"Of course I have read your articles. Who has not? So far as I have any knowledge, they are very just. I *know* Mr. Allen's school here and Mr. Bisbee's at Poughkeepsie are excellent schools. One which you criticise I know, from pupils who have come to me from there, to be justly criticised."*

Here is an educator who, instead of running down his chief rivals, pays a generous tribute to each; he does so because he is a true educator. Did he belong to the sham tribe whom we have criticised, he could not afford a good word, even through "fellow-feeling," for any of his brethren; and

* We have several letters from parents and guardians bearing similar testimony, and thanking us warmly and gratefully for our criticisms. But having no spite or malice even against those we have most severely denounced—no wish to injure them further than to perform our duty—we will publish none of those letters against them, except we see new public reasons for doing so, although letters have been kindly shown us which some of the parties alluded to have sent about falsely and basely villifying us! The publication of some of these letters would disgrace and injure their writers far more than the worst criticisms we have made upon them.

the best educators are those whom this class would most vehemently disparage.

The next letter that comes to our hand is from the Rev. Dr. Joseph Cummings, President of the Wesleyan University at Middletown, Conn., a gentleman who has an enviable reputation as an educator, in Europe, as well as throughout our own country. This letter is dated August 17, 1874, and commences thus:

"Dear Sir: I thank you for your letter. Please excuse the delay in answering it, which has been caused by my absence. I shall send you a notice of our institution for insertion in the advertising department of your excellent Review. We ought to have attended to this earlier.

"Our next college year will begin September 10. We shall be greatly pleased to receive you here whenever it may suit your convenience to call."

Neither this letter, nor its author, nor the institution over which the latter presides, has any need of our approbation. The Rev. Dr. Cummings, be it remembered, belongs to the Methodist Church, too; but he is evidently not one of "the strongest" Methodists who advised the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee to abuse and threaten us!*

But other New England educators write about the same

* We have already had some slight experience of those who, at least, call themselves "the best and strongest men of the M.E. Church." This is true, for example, of that pious and learned divine who so ably presides over Pittsburg Female College. We have never seen either the Rev. I. C. Pershing, D. D., or his College; but this time twelve-month, while confined to our bed, he wrote us a most flattering letter, informing us how much "delighted" he was with our Review; how he wished to insert his prospectus in it, etc. This letter was accompanied with "testimonials" and various other documents, all of which maintained stoutly that Pittsburg Female College is one of the greatest seats of learning to be found anywhere!

The Rev. Dr. Pershing, also, has a College of Music. At his institution "diplomas are conferred in Music and Painting," as well as in several other sciences and arts. When all this was shown to us on our bed, together with an invitation to dine with the reverend President of the College, whenever we happened to be in Pittsburg! we thought we

time, and in a similar spirit of courtesy and friendship. This is true, for example, of Prof. Charles Dole, of Norwich University; a Military College, established in 1834, and which, as its Catalogue truly says, "by its extraordinary contribution of educated officers during the war, has earned a title to the generous confidence of the public." Instead of abuse or threats, Prof. Dole, like the Rev. Dr. Cummings, honors us by the insertion of his prospectus in our advertising pages.

Dr. Elliot, President of Harvard College, favored us with a letter the same week, and although he did not send his prospectus this time, he sent us courteous and agreeable words—no threats. The same is true, in every particular, of the Rev. Dr. Crosby, Chancellor of the University of the City of New York, who also, confessedly occupies the first rank as an educator. The accomplished and faithful President of Manhattan College not only wrote kindly the same week we were abused and threatened by Rev. Mr. Blakeslee, but did us the honor of calling on us in person, exactly as the venerable Chancellor Ferris was in the habit of doing for several years, or as his own distinguished predecessors have been still longer in the habit of doing. When the Rev. Dr. Brakeley, the distinguished and amiable President of Bordentown Female College, is unhappily so unwell that he cannot write himself, he does us the honor of directing his niece and preceptress to convey to us his kind wishes. Nor have we any different

could not do otherwise than insert the prospectus, and allow our assistant to make a few favorable remarks of so surpassing an institution. But once this was done we were of no further account. We offer to take half-price; then one-third; finally, to be done with the matter, we propose to give a clear receipt for the advertisement for one-fifth our regular rate, but only got uncivil language in reply! Not one penny have we received from that day to this for the advertisement which the reverend Doctor was in such a hurry to insert, in order to patronize us. The Rev. Dr. Pershing may not be one of the "best and strongest men of the M. E. Church," alluded to by the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee in threatening us; but, no doubt, he will be glad to lend a hand, and perhaps contribute half a dollar, to so righteous an enterprise as exterminating us!

experience of the urbane and efficient President of the Wesleyan Female College at Wilmington Del. Perhaps the Rev. Mr. Wilson does not belong to the "strongest" Methodists; but, if knowledge, and good, sound sense constitute strength, he is as strong, at least, as a score of Blakeslees.

But, as all these gentlemen are presidents, chancellors, or provincials, perhaps it is not just to compare the meek, pious and learned Blakeslee to them, since he is only styled "principal," although he will doubtless be promoted very soon to a high rank in Boston University, by those "strongest men" who gave him such good advice! At all events, let us now compare him to a New England clergyman and educator who merely calls his institution a school. Our readers know our estimate of the Rev. Mr. Selleck's institution at Norwalk; if any do not, let them please turn to our last number. We did not visit Norwalk because we had any doubt of the high character of that gentleman's school. We did so at the earnest request of parents, deeply grateful for what he had done for their sons—of parents and guardians well competent to judge, and accordingly convinced that there is no better preparatory school in America. Mr. Selleck was in no need of pupils; he had, we believe, all or nearly all he could accommodate. Were our depravity such as that we would try to injure this school, it would be out of our power to do it. There is not one intelligent, honest person that knows it who would not indignantly repel any imputation on its character. Yet the course of Mr. Selleck is, to politely ask us to reserve a page for his prospectus, telling us that, although he is not in the habit of advertising, and is in no need of students, yet he so fully appreciates what we have done for the good cause, that he wishes to evince his appreciation in that way; and to this he courteously adds an order for a whole set of the Review, informing us that friends had borrowed some of the numbers he had received, and forgotten to return them. Mr. Selleck requests us to send him a bill as soon as convenient. As a small mark of our respect and esteem for his school we decline to accept anything for the set of the Review, and inform him that, for

the same reason, we are most willing to make a reduction in our regular rate for his prospectus; but he generously insists on paying the full amount. Then on the first of the present month he does us the honor of writing us a very friendly letter, in which he says: "I do most thoroughly appreciate your kindness to myself and school."

Several times, Rev. Mr. Gannett, of the Gannett Institute, at Boston, Professor Bisbee, of Riverview Academy, Poughkeepsie,* and many others, have honored us in a similar manner, accompanying their checks with agreeable and encouraging words. Nor has any one done so more gracefully than the gentleman compared to Prof. Bisbee, in excellence as an instructor, by the worthy rival of both, as shown above—we mean Professor Howe Allen, Principal of Mount Pleasant Military Academy at Sing Sing, N. Y. And here we are reminded that some have inferred from our criticisms on certain "military institutes," that we are opposed to all military exercises

* More than once we have compared Prof. Bisbee to the representative men of the Christian Brothers for his devotion, honesty and thoroughness as an educator. We now beg leave to compare him with some of the same good men in another point of view. Just one year ago we were stricken down by a violent fever while working too early and too late on the last pages of our autumn number. While confined to our bed, with but little prospect that we could ever issue another number, the presidents of Manhattan College and Rock Hill College, Md., paid us in full for their prospectuses for the ensuing year, at the voluntary suggestion (without any intimation of the kind on our part) of their Provincial, who feared that our malady might be aggravated by uneasiness about pecuniary matters, especially as the panic prevailing at the time caused much apprehension even among those in perfect health.

As soon as Prof. Bisbee heard of our illness he immediately sent his check, kindly expressing the wish that it could contribute to our recovery. Again, early in March, taking it for granted that our sickness had left us scarce in funds—in which he was not at all mistaken—he voluntarily sends his check for another half year. True, we were in no actual need. Our well-tried, ever faithful friend, Mr. John Egan, actuated by the same benevolent motive as the Provincial of the Christian Brothers, offered to draw his check for any amount we might require or wish. But we did not feel the less deeply grateful to our educational friends, or the less touched with emotion by their generosity, on this account.

in educational institutions. But as justly and logically might it be said that, because we have criticised "mixed" schools, like those of East Greenwich, Amenia, Claverack,* *et hoc genus omne*, we are opposed to having males and females educated together under any circumstances. Nay, as well might it be said that, because we have criticised the University of Pennsylvania, and shown it to be inferior in its educational standard to a second-rate preparatory school, we are opposed to all universities. In a word, we are opposed only to shams, whether those shams be called military institutes, academies, universities, etc.

Returning for a moment to New England, where we refer to the Gannett Institute as creditable even to the modern Athens, we have to remark that another Massachusetts educator, to whom we are much indebted for kindness and courtesy, is the Rev. Charles V. Spear, Principal of Maplewood Institute for Young Ladies, at Pittsfield, certainly one of the best and most attractive institutions in this country, as we mean to prove, before long, to such of our readers as are not acquainted with its superior system of teaching, and its delightful surroundings.

Nor have we had any different experience in our dealings with first-class female educators from the late Mrs. Emma Willard (whose place is still vacant) to Mlle. Louise Rostan, whose school in this city is one of the best, and—we are glad to add—one of the most flourishing in New York. And to the same high rank belongs the School of Mlle. Charbonniers, whom we have also the honor of numbering among our patrons.

Of recent manifestations of courtesy and good-will from distinguished lady educators, we beg leave to give a specimen

* But, although we have placed Claverack in an unenviable category, we would not do Mr. Flack the injustice of comparing him to certain other head-masters in all particulars. Thus, for example, we cannot say, and therefore would not say, or insinuate, that Mr. Flack has ever made any attempt to cheat us out of our time or labor. Whatever may be his shortcomings as an educator, he has never indulged in any false pretences to us for that purpose. Nor does he owe us one penny for subscriptions, or aught else ; which is far more than we could say of "the best and strongest men of the M. E. Church" (!)

or two. Thus, writing to us at the close of last July, Madame D'Hervilly, the accomplished and venerable Principal of the Chegary Institute, Philadelphia, says: "You will oblige me by inserting my advertisement in your next number." Whether we were exacting with her, in details, or not, may be inferred from the following letter which we had the honor of receiving from her some three weeks later (August 21):

"DEAR SIR: A thousand and many more thanks for your kindness. I accept your generous offer, and hope you will pardon my seeming unreasonableness. Some one (and a great one) has said, 'Si on savait tout on pardonnerait tout.'

"Veuillez, Monsieur, agréer l'assurance de ma haute consideration,
"L. D'HERVILLY."

Another lady, who also may be said to belong to a family of educators, writes to us in a style equally lady-like and kind; we mean Miss Emily A. Rice, Principal of Locust Hill Seminary for Young Ladies, at Yonkers; an institution which that thriving and spirited young city may well appreciate, thanking its stars how much more fortunate it is in possessing a first-class young ladies' school than its more aristocratic neighbor, Tarrytown. True, the Poughkeepsie Female Academy, and Poughkeepsie Cottage Hill Seminary, are near enough to Tarrytown; and the latter is a very different institution under its present auspices from what it used to be under the old *régime*, for Dr. Wetsell, like Rev. Dr. Wright, is one of those educators who, having all the necessary qualifications for the noble task to which they devote themselves, insist on succeeding, no matter how formidable may seem the obstacles that impede their way.

But we have no room for digressions this time. While it affords us sincere pleasure to show how faithfully and honorably representative female educators perform their duties, and how courteously they treat even poor working people like ourselves, at the same time we have no such affectation, no such false gallantry, as to pretend to think that, whatever persons of the feminine gender do, especially if they call themselves

educators, must be right and good. Since at least a portion of the truth had better be told in regard to those matters, we must say that there are some of the head-mistresses who are as anxious to "obtain goods under false pretences" as some of the head-masters! The former, as well as the latter, sometimes nearly overwhelm us with printed documents in the form of "testimonials"—all sorts of eulogies—all kinds of proofs that we are entirely mistaken as to the schools of their rivals, to whose merits we have ventured to allude—that theirs alone are capable of giving a fine young lady the finishing stroke! These modest remonstrances and assurances are generally accompanied with very handsome things about patronage to come, but we learned to understand, long since, that it is just such patronage as that with which we have been favored by "strong" divines and educators of the Blakeslee and Pershing stamp, each of whom has favored us with sufficient printed documents to line at least a hundred trunks!

Thus, for example, we have from the Rev. Mr. Blakeslee *brochures*, entitled, respectively, "Annual Catalogue of the Academy of East Greenwich, R. I., under the Direction of Boston University;" "New England Normal Musical Institute;" "Boston University Year Book, *edited by the University Council*, vol. 1;" "Chapel of the Greenwich Academy of Boston University, *Concert of the Musical Department*, etc., etc." Now, when we come to reflect on the whole affair, we are not sure, after all, but we deserve to be abused and threatened for failing to be overawed by such an immense array of "testimonials!" This would be the more easily understood by our readers if we had only time and space to present some extracts from almost any of the drawer-full of documents furnished us by the reverend "Principal and Professor of Mental and Moral Science!"

It is now some time since we had the pleasure of any chat, however brief, with our readers in regard to Manhattan College. The period has not been so long, however, but that most of them remember how high our estimate is of the character of that institution. Many of our friends used to think it strange how a "heretic" like us could have so profound an

esteem for a Roman Catholic institution. But its catholicity could not bias us against it in the slightest degree. Were we even capable of being influenced by sectarian prejudice in our educational discussions, which is certainly not the case, we should remember that the Catholic Church can boast no other brotherhood so liberal-minded as the Christian Brothers. They are, in fact, in a certain important sense, Protestants themselves. Their illustrious founder, the Abbé de la Salle, was always more or less persecuted by bishops and archbishops, and for no more criminal offence than that he insisted on imparting knowledge to all who would learn. In other words, he was in favor of fully developing the human mind in every direction; in favor of free discussion. In other words, no Catholic reformer of any age was more opposed to shackling the human mind. Although a priest himself, he ordained that no priest should belong to his Order, and that, if any of his followers should become priests, they should be no longer Christian Brothers.

In a word, it was the good Abbe's intention and wish that the Christian Brothers should devote themselves exclusively to the great work of educating the people. Those who have succeeded him have fully carried out his views and wishes in this respect; and, as he was opposed by those who ought to have aided and encouraged him in so noble a work, so have they been, from time to time, in America as well as in Europe. It is not strange, then, that the best thinkers and most accomplished educators among the Christian Brothers should have succeeded in establishing, in so liberal and enlightened a country as this, colleges which are worthy of comparison with the best of our Protestant colleges. At all events, whether it be strange or not, they have succeeded. It is not alone Manhattan College that takes high rank among our literary institutions. Rock Hill College at Elicot, Maryland, and the College of the Christian Brothers at St. Louis,* though

* For several years we were occasionally in the habit of seeing the President of St. Louis at his work in the class-room, and therefore can testify to his assiduity, fidelity and efficiency as an educator. He had

not quite equal to Manhattan, are excellent institutions, and each, we are glad to know, is in a flourishing condition.

We have now before us an account of the last Commencement of Manhattan, including speeches made on the occasion by the Archbishop of New York, Hon. Richard O'Gorman, and General Prosper Wetmore, senior Regent of the University of New York. We extract a brief passage from the address of the Regent, only premising that it entirely accords with our own views:

"I have been gratified, *more than it will be proper for me to say, here and now, in what I have seen and heard, as it will be my duty hereafter to speak upon this subject.* But I may say that, having been here on various similar occasions, I have *never yet departed from Manhattan College without feeling myself elevated in more ways than one in my hopes for the future.* I have always listened to wholesome doctrines in regard to morality, in all that belongs to its duties; and, if I do not feel it my duty to agree in all the doctrines that I have listened to to-day, I can truly say that I *honor the cause which has such teachers to develop its principles and doctrines.* (Loud applause.) Manhattan College has some qualities which I do not find in all the public institutions that it is my duty to visit. I find something *if not Roman Catholic yet something Catholic in its teachings*—something that I *can and must endorse with all my heart,* for we occasionally meet with those who can unite with us in sentiment, if not on the subject of religion, at least on morality."

This has always been our experience and feeling in regard to Manhattan. But, although the institution is almost, if not quite, Protestant in the freedom of thought and discussion

but one drawback to the performance of his duties; that is, he could seldom remember dates. However, in the long run, nothing was lost by this, for when the date memory returned, as it would be sure to do at intervals, the students obtained an amount of chronological lore from Brother James in one hour which was sufficient for a twelvemonth.

We have known the President of Rock Hill pretty nearly as long, and in every respect as favorably; but if there be anything peculiar in his memory it is its remarkable power in remembering dates. In this respect he is almost the equal of Brother Paulian, or even Brother Patrick, of whom it is justly said that he never forgot anything he ought to have remembered, and never remembered anything which he ought to have forgotten.

which it allows its students, yet no Catholic institution produces more earnest or abler vindicators of Catholic doctrines. We have an interesting illustration of this in an oration delivered on the same occasion by one of the *alumni* of Manhattan. It is entitled "Truthful Statesmanship;" but its chief object seems to be to glorify Pius IX. We have sincere respect for the venerable Pontiff; but, had we faith enough to regard his Holiness as infallible in all other particulars, we think that even then we should entertain serious doubt as to his infallibility in the matter of statesmanship. We are not the less willing on this account, however, to let our readers see how zealously and ingeniously a Manhattan *alumnus* can espouse the Pope's cause:

"Yes. But you ask, Have the days of truthful statesmanship then departed? Have we *none* to set the erring world a model? I know of one—there may be more—but I know of one who has been steadfast to his trust when dangers threatened, who has abided at his post unappalled by clamors, and unshaken by affliction. I mean him, the dethroned but ever glorious Pontiff of the Vatican. The world does not call him statesman, for it looks upon him as it does upon his history, and sees only the prelate's cope, and not the ermine which it covers. But, if the part of a true statesman consists in devotion to country, fidelity to the people's weal, and a strict observance of international courtesies, to whom, I ask, does the name more truly belong than to Pius?

"I do not see in all history any picture so touchingly sublime as that of this old man shorn of his temporal rule, yet standing like the angel of Eden on the threshold of faith, and beating back the doubts and chimeras that gather to assail it. You, student of classic lore, you, too, who explore the records of the past, go back with me through the ages. Select me your models of Grecian and Roman virtue, choose me the grandest characters of the Empire's day, point out the loftiest types of a later chivalry, and show me the man who can compare with this captive Pope in the majesty of his example and the enduring merit of his works."

If the colleges of the Christian Brothers be compared to our other Catholic colleges, it will be readily seen that the former labor under great disadvantages in some particulars. The other colleges derive immense aid from their respective patron saints, who are constantly performing miracles for

them. This is particularly true of the Jesuit colleges of St. John and St. Xavier, and of the colleges of the Fathers of the Holy Cross out in Indiana, and elsewhere. Thus, for example, the former have a large strip of the Holy Coat of Treves, while the latter have a full supply of the holy water of Lourdes. The price of each article is but moderate—a mere bagatelle. Well, let us suppose a student is stupid, or lazy; he has only to procure the smallest particle of the coat, put it into a brass locket, and hang it about his neck as an amulet; after that, study is a superfluous thing! In the other case, all that is necessary is a full draught of the holy water of Lourdes, which we are informed may be had in any quantity at Notre Dame University for only two dollars a bottle. Even one glass, taken fasting, has a wonderful effect, but those ambitious to excel must not be too nice about the quantity. Then, again, we see it advertised that “a holy mass of ten years will be said for all those, *living and dead*, who pay one dollar.” The Christian Brothers’ colleges have no such advantages as these; their students must plod on in the old wearisome way, and yet, *mirabile dictu!* they far outstrip those who depend so much on the holy water, holy coat, etc.

While Father Shea was President at Fordham, a period of many years, we were constantly informed, by the pious orthodox puffers, that he had no superior anywhere as an educator. We, however, begged leave to maintain just as persistently that the dear good father was, in fact, no educator at all.

Now, we see that he has been discarded, and those who used to eulogize him so much, admit that Fordham fell to a very low depth under his auspices! If it ever stood high, this is indeed true. Let the faithful be of good cheer, however, for we are assured by the same parties that the successor of Father Shea is just the right man. He will elevate the college to a pinnacle of renown never dreamt of before his time!

There are two solid reasons for this prophecy; one is that the new president is a Prussian, the other that for many years he was the chief guardian of the real original miraculous Coat of Treves in the “*Liebfrauenkirche*” (Church of Our

Lady), in that ancient city. When Sweeny and Tweed were in full power in New York there was not so much need for the wonderful virtues of the coat, and Father Shea did very well. If it be true that the new Father has prepared a lecture, entitled "What I Know about Holy Coats" (and containing a startling digression on the danger of intrusting Catholic youth to colleges, which, though nominally Catholic, are not conducted by teachers in holy orders, or under the guardianship of any saint), which he is to deliver every fast-day at the college, and every feast-day at the academies of the Sacred Heart and Mount St. Vincent, we fear it may come to pass that, instead of sending away students for lack of room for them, as it has to do now, Manhattan College will be left in the lurch without any students!

To this we think we need hardly add that, if Father Blakeslee will only apply to some of the Jesuit Fathers, Holy Cross Fathers, Corrigan and McQuade Fathers, and certain other Fathers, he can have allies enough. All these, reinforced by the various other tribes we have indicated in the preceding pages, would constitute a formidable contingent to enter the field side by side with "the best and strongest men of the M. E. Church" in the great work of annihilating us. However, we will not take leave of our model head-master in any unfriendly or uncharitable way. We beg leave to submit to his consideration, as is our wont in such cases, the following precept, which, if he studies it "prayerfully," dictionary in hand, morning and night, for one month, will profit him vastly more than he has profited or will profit by abusing and threatening us:—

"Ah miser! et si quis primo perjuriam celat,
Sera tamen tacitis Pœna venit pedibus!"

NOTICES AND CRITICISMS.

HISTORY AND LEXICOGRAPHY.

Chambers's Encyclopædia. A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge for the People. Illustrated. In Ten Volumes, 4to. Philadelphia: Lippincott & Co. 1872.

WE have repeatedly been requested by some of our most esteemed educational friends to examine this work, and give our impressions of it. The publishers have courteously afforded us an ample opportunity of doing so by sending us a copy of their revised edition. The Messrs. Lippincott & Co. are like the Messrs. Harper in this respect. Neither are ever afraid to have their publications reviewed. We have criticised books published by each—some of them severely—but they have never evinced any hostility toward us on this account, but have furnished their next publications for review, apparently as cheerfully as if we had found no fault.

Nor do either consider even the most expensive and most voluminous of their books too valuable to be furnished for review, in a journal read by the intelligent and educated classes. Yet these are the two houses which, above all others in this country, address the largest audiences through their own various periodicals.

It is needless to say that there would be nothing remarkable in this did other publishing houses pursue the same course. But the reading public should understand that this is by no means the case; that there are those who claim to be the rivals of the Harpers and the Lippincotts who, while they would be glad to furnish any of their publications if they were sure of having them praised, will furnish none except with that understanding. It is not in the hands of critics, but in the hands of puffers, these place their publications; so that when the "general reader" sees some of their most inane books eulogized he should be able to make a certain allowance for the circumstances of the case. That they have a perfect right even to hide their defective wares, as far as they can, from those likely to point out their defects, is undeniable. All we maintain is, that the public should be aware that a large number of very pretentious books are published, which cannot be criticised if it be in the power of their publishers to prevent it.

Sometimes we have deemed it our duty to the public to explain some of the high praise bestowed on certain publications of the Messrs. Appleton and Messrs. Little, Brown & Co., as having, in our opinion, something to do with the appreciative plan alluded to, although, of course, we are liable to be mistaken in such things as well as in others!

However, we are sincerely sorry when a useful and valuable work fails to reach us in time to do justice to its merits. Such is the case,

we regret to say, in the present instance. We can only give a very cursory glance at the several volumes, but we have so long postponed complying with the wishes of our friends in this matter, that we cannot afford to do so any longer.

Although less attractive to the general reader than some other works by the Brothers Chambers, such, for example, as the "Book of Days," and "Information for the People," this voluminous work is highly valuable for the purpose for which it is intended: that of a dictionary of knowledge in which information on almost every subject can be obtained, and by means of the alphabetical arrangement of the articles, obtained on simple reference. The present Encyclopædia is peculiarly available for schools and for the family library, where the object is not so much profound research as a facility in obtaining and imparting general information in such a form as to be easily acquired and almost as easily retained. It is, of course, as a work of reference it is chiefly valuable; and notwithstanding a generalizing, and, occasionally, superficial mode of dealing with its subjects, which is, perhaps, inseparable from works of this nature, it is incalculably useful.

The necessarily brief manner in which much of the information is imparted, the authors have exerted themselves to remedy by giving under many of the different headings references to the various authors by whom the subject in question has been treated, at length.

It is not, however, to be inferred that all the subjects are superficially handled. In the article on the United States (vol. 10), for instance, the authors have gone quite extensively into the circumstances which contributed to bring about the principal events in our history, and have manifested a clearness of insight and a fairness of thought which we very seldom find among our usually clear-headed Scotch brethren when the subject is American history or American institutions. The author distinctly recognizes the fact that the right of self-government, as to their internal affairs, was always claimed by the American colonies; that the right to regulate the domestic concerns of the colonies was never claimed by the English parliament until the Protectorate and the reign of Charles II., and was only in a manner established at the time of the English revolution of 1688; that slavery was forced upon us by the English, who had obtained by the Convention at Utrecht the exclusive control of the slave-trade, and had organized a great slave-trading company, in which Queen Anne and the King of Spain were the principal stockholders; and that the mother country had forced the colonies into a state of war, and was actually waging war against them as rebels, before any attempt was made on their part to detach themselves from her sovereignty.

The events of the late Southern rebellion are graphically and impartially related, and the circumstances which led to it set forth with fidelity. The author exhibits clearly the fact that the abolition of slav-

ery was not at the outset an object of the war, but was the natural and inevitable result thereof.

As instances of the variety of subjects treated in the work before us, we may allude to the articles on Whist (vol. 10) and Croquet in the Supplement at the end of the same volume. The former of these articles contains a statement at once full and concise—and therefore easy to be remembered—of the rules, the observances of which will constitute a good whist player; the latter contains complete instructions on the game of which it treats, further aiding the learner by copious illustrations.

In like manner the article on Carpentry, (vol. 2,) contains brief but useful instructions from which the embryo carpenter may acquire the rudiments of his art. The same may be said of the articles on the other mechanical arts, most of which are well supplied with references to other subjects in the Encyclopædia of which the knowledge might be useful to the artisan.

We are here reminded that it is to be regretted that authors so generally accurate, should have made the mistake of confounding "Ashtaroth" (vol. 1) with the name of a female Deity. Ashtaroth was not a term used to designate any individual divinity (although some writers have erroneously applied it to Astoreth, the goddess of the Sidonians) but was a generic term for all goddesses, as "Baaline" was of all gods. It is remarkable that our authors have avoided a similar error in the case of "Baal," which they recognize as the generic term signifying "Lord" or "God."

The various articles on Natural History are instructive and interesting, and are as a rule profusely illustrated. The reader will find especial interest in the accounts of the various Zoophytes, such as the Sea Anemone (vol. 1) and the Polypus (vol. 7), and the lover of oddities will find food for his taste in the accounts in the Supplement of the nest-building Ape, the Owl Parrot and the *Prionodon Gracilis* or Delundung, a sort of link between the cat and weasel.

The article on Wood Engraving (vol. 10) contains some curious illustrations of the early specimens in use in the middle ages. Information for the law student is found in the article on Parent and Child (vol. 7), and on Husband and Wife (vol. 5), and various articles of a similar character. Vol. 1 contains a list of the important observations in general use, which will be serviceable to the copyist as well as writer.

The Supplement at the end of volume 10 contains matter of a more recent date than had been available when the work was originally compiled. Such are the account of the Rinderpest which a few years since created such terror among the cattle-owners in England and Ireland; of the laying of the Atlantic cables, the last and most successful of which is of a comparatively recent date; on breech-loading and needle guns, and various other articles *ex omne genere*.

The work is printed in clear, good type, though its voluminous character has rendered necessary the use of the double column, and of a smaller letter than is desirable for the eye of one advanced in age.

The illustrations will prove a decided recommendation, especially to the younger part of the community. The larger plates are, however, deserving of more emphatic recommendation, both for their execution and for the judicious selection of subjects calculated to enhance the interest of the work.

This Encyclopædia will be of great service to the youthful and, perhaps, careless, or desultory reader, whose eye, in wandering from page to page, will often be caught, and his interest excited by some chance engraving and the article which it illustrates; and information will by this mode often be effectually imparted which, if administered in the shape of a lesson, would be rejected or forgotten. To the more studious and earnest seeker after information its value must be evident, though rather as furnishing a series of guides and stepping stones by whose aid he can attain the knowledge that his soul desires, than as itself providing the thorough information which the profound inquirer demands.

We trust we have satisfied our friends, even by this necessarily hasty glance, that they will incur no risk of being cheated in adding Chamber's Encyclopædia to their libraries. It is marked everywhere with those characteristics of excellence which have given the works of the Brothers Chambers a high and honorable prestige, wherever the English language is spoken or read.

Arctic Experiences. Containing Captain GEORGE E. TYSON'S Wonderful Drift on the Ice Floe, a History of the Polaris Expedition, the Cruise of the Tigris and Rescue of the Polaris Survivors. To which is added a General Arctic Chronology. Edited by E. VALE BLAKE. 8vo, pp. 479. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

There have been but few expeditions that have bordered so much on the marvellous, and created so much of almost mysterious interest, as the Arctic explorations. The "plain, unvarnished tale" is quite sufficient to excite an intense and sustained interest without the charms of rhetoric or graces of style necessary for most other subjects. It will at once be seen that the narrator of Arctic adventure is placed on a vantage-ground compared with other historians.

This work embraces facts of thrilling interest and of sufficient importance to demand attention, independently of style. It is written pretty much in the usual method of describing Arctic experiences. The diary form is adopted, and certainly it is the best and almost only form possible in such works. We have in this book descriptions of

the leading Arctic expeditions and their chiefs, from Sebastian Cabot to the chiefs of the *Polaris* expedition, including Frobisher, Gilbert, Hudson, Von Wrangel, Scoresby, Parry, Ross, Sir John Franklin, etc. The information here given will be useful to those who may not be familiar with the earlier histories of Arctic travel; although for those who have read more elaborate histories it is, of course, almost superfluous.

The interest of the reader will naturally centre itself on the investigations and sufferings of the *Polaris* crew and their rescue by the *Tigris*. It will be nothing new to most of the reading public of this country to hear of the expedition ably planned by Captain Hall and supported by the government authorities, for it was a matter of intelligent interest to most of the American people. The vessel that left Brooklyn Navy Yard on the 29th of June, 1871, was followed by the curiosity and well-wishes of a large section of our people.

There are some things that will produce mingled feelings as to the success of the expedition that was undoubtedly marred by cowardice on the part of one of the leading officers, and jealousy on the part of others. The success might have been even more complete had there been one common spirit of enterprise; but that seems to have been sadly lacking. The remarks of Captains Hall and Tyson reveal a state of things that was anything but commendable, and that will teach a lesson as to the necessity of selecting those who, by common sympathy, are best fitted to work together, as well as qualified for the perilous difficulties of Northern trade. The following paragraph will throw some light on the state of affairs:

"October 3.—Captain Hall is feeding the dogs up, and looking over his things, to decide what he will take. Had a conversation with Captain Hall. He told me that he would like to have me go with him, and then he stopped, and, pointing to the sailing-master, said: 'But I can not trust that man. I want you to go with me, but I don't know how to leave him on the ship. I want to go on this journey, and to reach, if possible, a higher latitude than Parry before I get back.'"

This state of things needs no comment. Notwithstanding this mistrust, Captain Hall's expedition was not by any means unsuccessful, for it reached the latitude of $82^{\circ} 29''$ N., and traversed a sea where probably vessel had never before been. Had Captain Hall lived he might have achieved still greater success, in spite of opposition from certain quarters where certainly it ought not to have been found. The drift on the "ice floe" may indeed be classed as wonderful. It certainly has not a parallel in the history of Arctic voyages. For a period of six months, with but little food, and that precarious, exposed to gales that were terrible in their length and force, with the floe lessening in bulk, and with but little hope of deliverance—such was the position of a portion of that suffering *Polaris* crew. We wish we could give several paragraphs to illustrate the endurance of human nature, and to set forth the perils of the Arctic voyager. We give a brief extract:

"There (on the ice floe) we stood all night long, from 9 P. M. to 7 A. M., enduring what I should say few, if any, have ever gone through with and lived. Every little while one of these tremendous seas would come and lift the boat up bodily, and us with it, and carry it and us forward on the ice almost to the extreme opposite edge of our piece; and several times the boat got partly over, and was only hauled back by the superhuman strength which a knowledge of the desperate condition its loss would reduce us to gave us. Had the water been clear, it would have been hard enough. But the sea was full of loose ice, rolling about in blocks of all shapes and sizes, and with almost every sea would come an avalanche of these, striking us on our legs and bodies, and bowling us off our feet like so many pins in a bowling-alley. Some of these blocks were only a foot or two square, others were as large as an ordinary bureau, and others larger; in fact, all sorts and sizes. We all were black and blue with bruises for many a day after."—pp. 320 and 321.

They were rescued from their fearful danger by the Tigris. The "Arctic Chronology" is useful for reference, as it not only contains the dates of various expeditions, but some valuable collateral information. The scientific notes are worthy of perusal, for they contain information in regard to some Arctic plants and other physical features. The pictorial illustrations are good, and will be especially interesting to the young.

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1. *The Crusades*. By GEORGE W. COX, M. A. 16mo., pp. 228. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.
 2. *The Era of the Protestant Revolution*. By FREDERIC SEEBOHM. Same publishers. 1874.

These are the first two of a series of works proposed to be issued, illustrating the epochs in modern history most remarkable for their bearing on the intellectual and political development of Christendom. The two eras selected for the initial works of the series, though widely separated in point of time, will be found, in fact, to have been so closely allied in evolving the great results which may even now be said to be in process of development, that their selection by the editor will be found most judicious.

The Crusades, usually supposed to have been the result of an outburst of religious fanaticism, are shown by Mr. Cox to have originated in a deeper motive on the part of the sovereigns of Western Europe—a motive, in fact, as much political as religious.

Christianity in the West, though controlled by ambitious men, and encumbered with many degrading superstitions, possessed a strong hold on the affections of the people. For this reason they loathed the Church in the East, which they had learned to regard as little better than heathenism. It had long been an object of ambition to the see of Rome to extend its dominion over the patriarchate of Constantinople; and there can be little doubt that the great object which Gregory VII. and Urban

II. had in encouraging the Crusades, was, by the occupation of Jerusalem, to establish a power of their own to the east of Constantinople, by whose means the Eastern Church should be gradually absorbed into their own. That this object was suspected by the Eastern Christians, and by the Emperor Alexius in particular, is evident from the fact that, while ostensibly aiding the enterprise, they indirectly placed every possible obstacle in its way.

The Crusades failed in their object, but were, nevertheless, instrumental in working out a result which the originators never contemplated. The Moslems were taught their own strength, and, emboldened by their success at Jerusalem, eventually pushed their conquests to Constantinople. The scholars and thinkers, who were thus driven from their homes, and compelled to find a refuge in Western Europe, infused a new life, intellectual and religious, into the lands of their adoption. Literature revived throughout the West. From Italy to Oxford, scholars arose who were untrammelled by the dogmas of the schoolmen who read the Bible in its original tongue, and interpreted it to the people, and who, in that way, were in fact the pioneers of the Reformation.

The connection between the two great epochs of the Crusades and the Reformation is clearly developed in the two books before us. In other respects they have little in common. The exciting incidents commemorated in Mr. Cox's book, and the glowing language in which they are recorded, render it more interesting than the companion volume—but the impression left by it is a little vague. The style of Professor Seebohm's book is calm and lucid, and, while making little attempt to fascinate the reader, conveys much valuable information which is, for that very reason, perhaps, more easily retained in the memory. It is to be regretted, however, that he should have permitted himself to fall into such inaccuracies as to speak of "Ferdinand of Castile and Isabella of Aragon," (p. 36), and various other errors of a similar character.

The volumes are gotten up in tasteful style, and will prove a desirable addition to the family library.

PHILOSOPHY AND BELLES-LETTRES.

An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature. By B. A. M. 12mo. pp. 182. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1874.

It not unfrequently happens that the best books fall into our hands just when we have least time to indicate their peculiar merits for the benefit of our readers. The volume now before us presents a striking instance of this kind. Not that it introduces itself to us in any pretentious way. On the contrary, it evinces all the modesty of a young maiden, who, as Byron expresses it, "blushes at her own loveliness." And were it not

for the decidedly masculine vigor of thought which the book everywhere exhibits we might question whether the author be male or female; for there is nothing further to tell the story than the initials "B. A. M." More than once we have laid the book aside for our December number, so that we might have time, at least to satisfy ourselves in discussing its merits. But we have thought again that three months is a long time; although this is one of the few books which will be as fresh and good three months, or three years hence, as it is now. This, however, will not do for the reader, who may never see it, or even hear of it, during the intervening time, and accordingly we proceed to take a cursory glance at its contents.

The author expresses his intention in the following words: "It is the aim of the present essay to embody, in a united whole, the laws and principles of literature in its most general relations. It may be considered as an introduction to the Philosophy of History."

The subject is considered under three main aspects, viz., Principles and Facts, Theory, Practice. It is necessary to observe that certain things are assumed to be strictly true, especially those dogmas in religion that may be classed as "orthodox, or evangelical." This must be understood, otherwise the book might be regarded, not only as faulty by omission, but also as disregarding the views of some distinguished writers on the "Philosophy of Literature." The author, for example, tells us in his introduction that "the following truths are postulated :

"I. That there is a God and a divine revelation.

II. That man is made in the image and likeness of his Maker.

III. That his aspirations are satisfied only in the plane of the supernatural."

Our readers are aware that we have no pretensions to orthodoxy, but we trust they are also aware that we do not the less respect, on this account, those who are orthodox. Literature has a province of vast extent and of varied beauty and interest, including many characteristics ranging from one extreme of the human mind to the other. To deal with this important topic as it deserves requires profound research, a sympathetic soul, and an ability to represent its leading characteristics. To define the subject does not, however, require that ability and subtlety that are necessary to mark off one peculiar province of thought from another, or distinguish things that differ but little.

In short, literature is so wide that one can safely generalize. The author defines it in the following language:

"Literature is the verbal expression of man's affections as acted upon in his relations with the material world, society, and his Creator; that expression being as varied as the moods that pass over his soul, whether they speak of love or hatred, of joy or sorrow, of fear or hope."—p. 17.

Is this definition, comprehensive as it is, wide enough? Is it not possible that something has been written that might well bear the term "literature" without strictly conforming to this definition? For instance, some

passages in Homer, Milton, Dante, and Shakespeare, that are simply freaks of fancy, acknowledged to bear no relationship to anything above or below, except in a secondary and derived sense. We know that fancy must certainly derive its material from one of the three sources named, for it is not otherwise possible for it to rear its structure; but the building sometimes has no counterpart elsewhere.

Literature is as wide—in its common use—not only as prose and ordinary poetry, but as the wildest vagaries of fancy. We simply put this view as a query. We quite agree with the author when he says that, "literature has its roots deep in the nature of man." It certainly has, and to a large extent is the expression of that nature, whether in simple prose or in the frenzied outpourings of its storied depths.

The function of literature is manifold. It interprets our manhood and assists us in the march of progress. Our author truly and forcibly informs us that "The clash of thought educes new thought. Mind influences mind, even over the chasm of ages. Virgil bows before Homer, and Dante acknowledges Virgil to be his master and model. For a thousand years Aristotle is the inspiration of the philosophical world. The genius of Thackeray expands only after it has been saturated with the master-pieces of Richardson and Fielding. Thus is wrought the chain of thought that girdles the world."—p. 20.

It is a question that might be productive of good to inquire once more how far Dante was indebted to Virgil. We rather think that the pupil was a great deal more adulatory in relation to his "master" than he was indebted to him. That he was indebted there can be no doubt, but that he was very greatly under obligation the *Divina Commedia* does not prove.

There is a great scope for different views under the heading of the Origin of Literature. The theory of development has been held by some. Herbert Spencer, for instance, speaks of the "survival of the fittest." Darwin speaks of man as follows: "As he ascends the scale of perfectibility, an equilibrium in his faculties will become more 'determined.'" Very many, perhaps the majority, accept a modified theory of development as to literature, though there are several notable exceptions. The author, of course, differs from the view of Darwin, for he says, p. 22:

"According to this view, language and literature are the results of man's progress in intelligence. But facts militate against this theory, for the noblest monuments are the most ancient that have reached our time."

Our author has treated of architecture and literature as reciprocal in their influence, taking Greece as an example. Certainly, literature and art, especially architecture, may be regarded as pretty closely akin, though whether that will apply universally may be open to question. It is more than probable that a certain kind of poetry may exist, especially the bardic kind, without much progress in architecture. But the principle laid down by our author is generally correct.

It may be said that there are certain epochs determining certain classes of literature. Take the Homeric age as an example of martial ardor. But we certainly cannot agree with the statement that the Reformation was at all injurious to literature, although it may have damaged a species of literature that had but little practical utility. Whatever may have been its immediate effect on classical studies, it gave an impetus to the common mind that has held for centuries. Of course stirring times are not the most fitting for studies that require calm and almost judicial research; but at the same time they may relieve the mind from trammels that impede true progress in philosophy and literature. After the storm is somewhat hushed, then the effects are seen; and, most assuredly, they have been seen in the memorable instance referred to.

But time and space forbid us to proceed. We cannot conclude, however, without cordially recommending, and especially to schools of all religious denominations, a work so compact with well-digested, suggestive thought, as "An Essay Contributing to a Philosophy of Literature."

Katharine Earle. By Miss ADELINE TRAFTON. 12mo. Boston: Lee & Shephard. 1874.

THIS story possesses one advantage over most of those published at the present day, in being essentially American. The characters, the incidents, the situations, are such as are of daily occurrence among us, and could hardly have existed elsewhere. The work breathes throughout the spirit of our national life. There are no *fade* sketches of society; no worn-out attempts to exhibit national peculiarities. The authoress has throughout the work relied on her own experience and observation.

From the ante-revolutionary mansion of the Earle family in Boston, with its square hall, winding stair-ways, and out of the way hiding-places, which constitute the heroine's first surroundings, to the quaint, half-Southern town on the Pennsylvania border, in which its *denouement* is reached, we have a series of pictures which every American will recognize. The principal defect of the story is the imperfect construction of the plot. In fact, it can be hardly said to have a plot. It is rather a series of episodes in which the heroine's inner life is evolved. Indeed, no particular incident in the story appears to have any special bearing on the rest. The author would appear to be in some degree conscious of this defect, or at least that it may be so regarded. In no other way can we understand the graceful apology which she offers (p. 97) for dwelling so long on "the child and the people who moved in and out and formed a portion of her daily life."

Katharine Earle is the youngest child of an ancient but reduced New England family. In the seclusion of her poverty her mind has devel-

oped among books and in the society of her own thoughts. We are introduced to her when about to appear at a child's ball—her first experience of the world. "A pair of great dark eyes in the midst of a pale, absorbed face; a mass of dark hair thrust back from a low, wide forehead," such (p. 12) is the description of the eight-year old Katey who presents herself at the ball in an old brocade "which had been brought from England when there was not another in the colony which could compare with it," and which could *almost* stand alone (p. 18). In this quaint garb she shrinks into a dark corner, at first suffering the pangs natural to a shy and sensitive temperament, but by degrees, forgetting her self in witnessing the enjoyment of the others, she becomes happy, in her own way, until her mortification is renewed by the departure of the whole party to the supper-room, entirely overlooking her. In a paroxysm of anger she is about to return home, when, in ascending the stairs, she stumbles over a crippled boy, some years her senior, who has been left out in the cold like herself. The similarity of their positions opens the door to an acquaintance. The young lad becomes strongly interested in the strange little figure, and when sufficiently recovered from his lameness, takes measures to renew the acquaintance; but his early departure for Europe ere long brings their intercourse to a close.

At this same ball another figure casts a dark shadow on the canvass. Dacre Horn, a youth "with supercilious mien and a cruel, mocking laugh," (p. 23). These are the good and evil angels of her future life.

The second and one of the most admirable episodes of the book arises from the passage of the Fugitive Slave Bill.

"From a refuge Boston became a covert, where frightened creatures hid in trembling insecurity. More than one man hesitated and yielded at that time, not from cowardice, but from an honest query in his mind, in rendering up his dues, which were Caesar's and which were God's."—(pp 45-46.)

Katey, early one morning, encounters a runaway slave who had been for years past a dependent on her family. His master is on his track, and unless he can be concealed until nightfall she knows that he has no hope of escape. An instinct which she cannot herself comprehend overcomes her dread of consequences; and through a small dark hall and up a narrow winding stair, she conducts him into a deserted attic, where, concealed behind an unused bedstead, is a low door which leads into an empty garret where Ben, the runaway, can be concealed till night. But the fugitive has been tracked. Dacre Horn has seen him enter the Earle mansion, and gives information which that very night brings the slave-catchers to the house with their warrant for his recapture. With a palpitating heart Katey, who has kept her own secret, follows them into the attic where the servant, who has no suspicion of the truth, to her terror reveals the hidden garret and invites the officers to search. But Ben has escaped. He has discovered a trap door on the roof.

"A blessed quiet descended upon Katey like that which fills the Church when people bow their heads to the last Amen."—(p 83.)

These are the episodes of Katharine Earle's childhood. She next appears to us a girl of eighteen—residing temporarily with her sister Delphine, who has made a wealthy marriage and is established at Newport. Katharine, however, will not live in dependence. She has already accepted a position in a Pennsylvania school as governess, and has already fixed the day for entering on her duties. Dacre Horn now appears on the scene as a young man of fortune, but not enjoying a very good reputation, despite which fact Delphine manoeuvres to secure him for her sister rather than see her support herself as a governess. But Katharine recoils from Dacre. Her instinct and the recollection of his former treachery appears to warn her against him. By degrees, however, her woman's heart softens at the isolation of his position and the coldness with which the world treats him. She listens to him and at last "pity melts the soul to love," and by the time that she leaves Newport she has promised to become his wife.

"The sea heard a story more beautiful than the summer twilight—the story of youth and love and summer time. The voices, the forms may change, but the story will go on while the world stands and the sea crouches on the shore to listen."—(p 105.)

During their last interview Dacre, and apparently Katey also, are recognized by a stranger, "a man of medium height, squarely built, with deep-set gray eyes and a strong frank face shaded on either side by a heavy red-brown beard" (p 116). He appears to regard Dacre with displeasure and Katharine with something akin to pity.

An accident to the train and an American aptitude for forming acquaintances, brings Katharine during her journey into communication with a party of Swiss vocalists. The travelers are obliged to remain a night on the road; and Katharine, at the suggestion of her new friends, accompanies them to the hotel where they propose to give a concert. One of the girls becoming confidential with Katherine, informs her that her sister is unhappy about a young man "who had followed her from place to place until he stole her heart." The girl is really ill and unable to sing, and Katharine is persuaded to wear her costume, and appear on the stage in her place—a singularly imprudent step but quite characteristic of the eccentric girl. She has reason to repent her imprudence; for on leaving the room she meets, beset and full, "the searching and astonished gaze" of a pair of deep-set gray eyes belonging to a square figure with a strong fresh face shaded by a heavy red-brown beard." On the following day she arrives at the school, in a town close upon the Southern border,

"—whose interests are so closely connected with that section of the Union that although professing neutral, its sympathies really and fiercely followed its interests. There is nothing so bitter in its hatred, so strong in its partisanship as neutrality."—(p 163.)

At this school she meets Professor Dyce, whom she at once recognizes as the stranger whom she had encountered with Dacre Horn, and who had confronted her at the concert. He also recognizes her as the odd little girl whom he had befriended, years before, at a child's party in Boston.

Ere long Katharine's tranquility is disturbed by a note from Dacre, which is handed to her by one of the school girls. Stolen interviews follow, in which Katharine's apprehensions are aroused, but nothing is revealed to her until she receives a letter from her sister which astonishes her with the information that Dacre had been involved in a bank robbery and is now a fugitive from justice. Conscious that she has been partly to blame in encouraging Katharine to like the young man, she writes in the hope of undoing whatever mischief she may have done. But she has misjudged Katharine:

"To one who has enlisted heart and soul in a warfare, the time to waver is not when the foe appears; to one who has really taken upon himself vows, the time to doubt is not when the rack is brought out. She would never desert him now."—p. 201.

A last interview convinces her that Dacre is really guilty, and is still associated with his former confederates, and is even now obliged to fly to some other town. The secret of Katharine's unhappiness is suspected by Professor Dyce, who attempts to counsel her, but without result. What the Professor has failed to do, Katharine's Swiss friends effect. On a visit to them she is apprised that the missing lover has re-appeared, and this lover, on inquiry, proves to be Dacre Horn. A long illness ensues, from which Katharine rises a changed woman. The old love has died out of her heart, and in course of time a new love arises to replace it.

The *denouement* in which the marriage of Katharine with Professor Dyce is brought about by their losing their way in the forest and being obliged to camp out all night, is undoubtedly the weakest portion of the plot; and besides reminding the reader too emphatically of a similar situation in "The Mill on the Floss," is altogether unworthy of the hero and heroine, and will create an inevitable feeling of disappointment on laying the book aside.

But, notwithstanding the unsatisfactory termination of an otherwise excellent story, "Katharine Earle" is a work which will well repay perusal—a work not merely to while away an idle hour, but a book for thinkers and feelers—a book which instructs as well as interests.

EDUCATION AND AUTOBIOGRAPHY.

German University Life. The Story of My Career as Student and Professor, with Personal Reminiscences of Goethe, Schiller, Schelling, Schleimacher, Fichte, Novalis, Schlegel, Neander, and others. By HEINRICH STEFFENS. Translated by WILLIAM L. GAGE. 16mo, pp. 284. Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott & Co. 1874.

In this volume the translator has judiciously selected for publication the most interesting and instructive portions of an autobiography which in its original form extended through ten volumes, and covered four thousand pages! Notwithstanding the appalling length of the work, with its concomitant faults of diffuseness and egotism, there was that to be found in its pages which, when carefully winnowed from the surrounding chaff, was well worthy of perusal. This service has been rendered the public in the present volume; and we have now, in a convenient form, a gallery of literary portraits—portraits the more valuable as taken from the stand-point of a foreigner.

We would not, however, be understood to say that the literary portraits contained in this volume are the sole attraction of the work. The writer himself does not fail to excite interest. Notwithstanding the egotism with which they are sometimes disfigured, the pages breathe throughout the simple and loving nature of a child. They display, moreover, a brilliant though not a profound intellect; a vivacity of observation with a quickness of thought and feeling which cast a glamour of their own on the various figures as they dawn and fade on the canvas. We can understand that Goethe and Schlegel and Schleimacher should have loved the large-hearted, sensitive, earnest Dane; and the very weaknesses of which he makes so frank an avowal cause us to feel at home with him, and to sympathize with his emotions as of one of those whom we had personally known.

The translator has, with good judgment, refrained from giving extracts from the first three volumes, which treat of Steffens' childhood and early life. He is first introduced to us at the age of twenty-five, commencing a tour in Germany, whither he has been sent by the Danish government as a mineralogist. His destination is Freiberg, the seat of the famous school of mineralogy; but for him the intellectual life of Germany possesses attractions not to be resisted; he accordingly remains at Jena, where many of the eminent *literati* were congregated. It was here that he heard a lecture by Fichte, of which he gives the following curious specimen:

"After my personal interview with Schelling, I went to hear Fichte lecture, who was just commencing his course on the Constitution of Man. His short, thick figure, with its sharp, authoritative eyes, struck me with an imposing effect when I saw him for the first time. His style of speech was cutting as a knife; his sentences fell like the stroke from a razor. Already acquainted with even the weaknesses of his pupils, he sought in every way to make himself intelligible to

them. He took all possible pains to substantiate what he said by proof; but yet he had a certain authoritative air, as if he would remove every doubt by a command, to which unhesitating obedience should be paid. 'Gentlemen,' he said 'withdraw within yourselves; enter into your own mind; we are now not dealing with anything outward—purely with ourselves.'

"The hearers, thus bidden, really seemed to withdraw into their own minds. Some changed their position and straightened themselves up; others bowed themselves over and closed their eyes. All waited with great eagerness to see what should come next. 'Gentlemen,' continued Fichte, 'let your thought be the wall.' I could see that the hearers set their minds most intently upon the wall, and everything seemed favorable thus far. 'Have you thought—the wall?' asked Fichte. 'Now, then, gentlemen, let your thought be *that* that thought the wall.' It was curious to see what confusion and perplexity now seemed to arise. Many of the hearers seemed no ways able to discover *that* that had thought the wall, and I now understood how it might well happen that young men who stumbled over the first approaches to speculative philosophy in so clumsy a way might, in later efforts, fall into errors which should be grave, not to say dangerous."—pp. 38, 39.

While at Jena, Steffens became intimate with many of the leading poets and philosophers, among others Schlegel, Schelling, Hufeland, and Frohman. It was at the house of the last mentioned that he first met Goethe. His account of the interview borders on the ludicrous, although to Steffens himself it was an occasion of the deepest mortification. The great poet overlooked him entirely, and addressed all his conversation to a third party. The sensitive Danish visitor returned home terribly wounded.

"I remembered," he says, "stories of his haughtiness and coolness, and went to my rooms in a mood almost unendurable. The northern European is by nature easily wounded in this way, and I have had to struggle all my life with a sensitiveness which has often made me very unhappy. However, I got along as well as I could, and repeated Philene's words as I walked home.

"If I don't love thee, what is that to thee?"

but yet it would lie like a dark shadow across my path."—p. 42.

Steffens' mortification was so great that for a long while he positively refused to meet Goethe, or even to remain in company where he was. At last the ice was broken by Goethe himself, and Steffens ere long became his constant companion. The impression on the mind of the latter is set forth in his own words:

"I became acquainted with Goethe on a side of his character hitherto unknown to me. His deep sympathy with nature, that quickening, creative power which appeared in all his poems and threw its clear light over all his words became apparent; plants and animals, and even the flashing colors of the rainbow, he could view, not in their isolated unity, but in all their mutual dependencies and relations."—p. 45.

In all the absorbing enthusiasm for Goethe among the men of his time, Schiller would appear hardly to have met with justice. Yet the great poet himself appreciated him, and manifested sincere interest in the success of his great play. Steffens attended the first representation of the opening part, and he testifies that to Goethe's masterly management the performance was indebted for its chief success.

From Jena, Steffens proceeded to Halle, and thence to Berlin, each of which cities was destined at a future day to become his residence. He finally took up his abode at Freiburg, where, in addition to the pursuit of his studies, he commenced his career as an author by the publication of a work on Physics. He soon experienced the rough side of an author's life, and his philosophy, associated with that of Schlegel and Schelling, became the subject of the harshest attacks. Of the dignified and Christian equanimity with which he bore this treatment, and the fidelity with which, regardless of praise or blame, he adhered to the work to which he had assigned himself, we cannot speak in terms of too high commendation. The following extract is a touching exposition of his sentiments:

"Praise and blame are both equally harmless. Whoever has a work to do which absorbs the energies of his whole being is spending his happiest days. He can build on in peace, and cherish the thought that he is doing a work which shall not perish; he knows that not merely the passing day, but that history has, through him, gained new ideas; if his work is to him something precious and sacred, he cannot only bear attacks with indifference, but can even be patient with his weaknesses while he seeks to battle with and overcome them. I must confess that the attacks of adversaries have been in no way injurious to the development of my conceptions, and have in no way hindered my giving to the future what shall be of permanent worth. I hold it for true that the power of the censor over journals and the ephemeral forms of literature is of little avail. I once called it a kind of perpetual slaughtering of the babes of Bethlehem to kill the Saviour, whom yet all miss."—p. 94.

While residing at Freiberg, Steffens paid a visit to Jena, where, for the first time, he became acquainted with Frederick Schlegel. Of this distinguished author he has given the following brilliant description:

"There could hardly be a man more capable of wielding a strong personal influence than Frederick Schlegel. He grasped every subject which was presented to him in its whole length and breadth. He could even pass at once into the comprehension of my ideas on natural philosophy; but all his writings show that he was unable to gain a full insight into the workings of nature. His wit was inexhaustible and happy, and he belonged to those who understand what wit really is.

"It is well known that wit and acuteness are often brought into contrast, and that it is generally insisted that they mutually exclude each other. The man devoid of wit, who, because he is accustomed to call himself sharp-sighted, is inclined to give the preference to keenness, believes that a witty man cannot be acute; and yet it must be confessed that both faculties, where they exist in a sound and active state, presuppose each other. Whoever grasps *in an instant* all the relations of a subject and masters them at once, he has wit. This *immediate* grasping is necessary; it must come without a moment's pause. It is not the seeing of dim analogies, not the conceiving of things in their unity, that makes wit. Wit must see all this without delay; to be wit, it must be immediate. Wit is the child of the moment. The difference between wit and sharp-sightedness lies in the time which is needed to grasp all the relations of a subject. Wit pounces upon them and startles you into laughter; acuteness takes them with quickness, indeed, but not as in a twinkling. Wit reads to you as by the lightning's flash;

acuteness by the full glory of day. Wit is keenness highly animated and intensified."—pp. 104, 105.

The fascination which Germany's poets and philosophers exercised over Steffens is manifest from the fact that, although he had contemplated extending his travels to Italy, France and England, he passed his whole five years of absence contentedly in a few German cities. This love of Germany proved highly prejudicial to his success in his own country, where, on his return, he gave lectures on philosophy and geognosy. It was currently reported that he had ceased even to think in his native tongue, but habitually thought in German. It is not, therefore, surprising that he should have accepted a call to Halle as Professor of Natural Philosophy, Physiology, and Mineralogy, and that thenceforth Germany should become his home.

At Halle Steffens formed one of the warmest and most enduring friendships of his life. We allude to Schleiermacher. It was in his society that the religious tendencies of Steffens's nature were principally developed—how fully, he has intimated in the following passage:

"A delightful spring day enticed us both, accompanied by a common friend, to walk out to Petersberg on the evening before the solemn burial service should be held. We spent the night in a hut in the little village of Ostrow. That night will never be forgotten by me. We never drew so near each other as then. Schleiermacher never displayed himself to me more exalted or more pure. That night still comes back to me as one of the marked periods of my life—I might almost say it seems hallowed. The day closed glorious and beautiful; the landscape stretched away, made fair by the new activities of spring. The whole scene was like a vast natural temple; the magnificence gave wings to every thought, it penetrated us through and through, and, as the spring quickens the earth, so did this prospect quicken our spirits. I have a witness of the deep impression which this night made upon Schleiermacher, in a letter to his friend, Lady Herz. It was the reflection of his own purity, in which I stood, as it were, illumined. His deep spirituality was more apparent to me than ever before. The Saviour was with us then, as he had promised to be when two or three were gathered together in his name. It was plain to me that a positive religious character had been his from his childhood among the Moravians up, and that what he called in a technical way sensibility, was, when lifted up into the Christian consciousness, touched with the eternal love of God; and it grieved me sorely that the faith of so eminent a philosopher was so misunderstood. This sensibility of his was what faith is to love, what thought is to feeling, the second the cherishing guardian of the first."—pp. 139, 140.

A change was destined to come over the hitherto peaceful life of the professor. The cloud of war which had so long been gathering in the north of Germany suddenly burst in all its force on Prussia. The students at Halle would not believe, for a long time, that Napoleon intended to attack Prussia, and persuaded themselves that, were such a proceeding even contemplated, the attack would begin at the Rhine, and that the business of life at the University would go on undisturbed. Even when a division of the Prussian army was quartered at Halle, and it became

clear that the enemy was at their very doors, so strong was their confidence in the invincibility of the Prussian arms that little anxiety was entertained as to the result of the impending battle. From this state of security they were soon to be rudely awakened. On the 16th of October, 1806, firing was heard in the neighborhood of Possendorf. From the walls of the city Steffens and his friends were enabled to overlook the contest. The result is given in his own words:

"We could see the onset, the firing on both sides, the plunging charges of the cavalry, but all seemed indecisive to an unskilled observer, who could only follow the separate movements. So strangely blinded by Prussian prestige, and so confident in Prussian valor, were the most, that victory on the French side seemed impossible. 'The poor French,' said a brother professor at my side, 'I almost pity them; they are worn out, it is plain; poor fellows, a sad fate awaits them falling into the hands of our victorious soldiers.'

"But this hallucination did not last long. The enemy pressed on in yet grander numbers, while our troops were flying before them. Soon all were in motion among us, and, full of fear, every one hurried to his home. My house, situated in a remote and not much frequented part of the city, was regarded by us all as unsafe, and we resolved to spend the time of greatest danger in Schleiermacher's house, in the middle of the city. We hastened our steps to rescue our child from our own home. We made the briefest possible stay in our house, but it was only too long. Mr. Gass, the friend referred to above, took Schleiermacher's sister in charge, Schleiermacher my wife, and I my child. We had to traverse the whole length of Great Ulrich's Street. We could hear the shots in the city, but in the streets there was perfect stillness. No one was to be seen, the houses were all locked; in only one place did I observe any one, and that was a man tearing down a sign which would be likely to draw the enemy to his store. When we came to the well-known turn in Great Ulrich's Street, just before it opens into the Market Place, we saw at a glance the danger which confronted us. The flight of the Prussian army was directly across the city; the whole Market Place was filled with cannon and with ammunition wagons, and in the streets which led from the Market Place down to the river we could hear the incessant firing. Our course was directly across this retreating mass. How we came through I cannot tell. We were so intent upon self-preservation that we observed nothing else. Enough that we stemmed the current safely. We were near the Merkur Street, where Schleiermacher lived. But just as I turned a corner which would hide the Market Place from further view, I glanced a moment at the scene of rout which we had just traversed, and to my amazement it was utterly empty. Troops and wagons had disappeared as by magic. By the time we had fairly entered one of the side streets the French came up. The shots whistled through the air close by us, and Bernadotte's advance guard rode by at full speed along one of the great streets in full view. They paid no attention to us; the retreating Prussian army was their sole object of pursuit."—pp. 151-153.

The University was closed by Napoleon, and the students dispatched to their homes. For two years Steffens was a wanderer. At the close of that period he was again at his post—no longer, however, in Prussia. Halle was now in the new kingdom of Westphalia, and the inhabitants were subjects of the new king, Jerome.

Although a Dane by birth, Steffens was more faithful to the country of his adoption than many of the Prussians themselves. When the hith-

erto victorious army of Napoleon met with its terrible reverses in Russia, he was among the first to call on the German youth to rise and bear arms for the liberation of their native land.

"The twenty-ninth bulletin had appeared; every artful expression in it seemed to endeavor vainly to conceal the news of a total defeat. The vision of a wonderful agitated future rose in every mind with all its hopes and terrors; it was breathed out at first in tones scarcely audible; even those who had believed that unbridled ambition would find its check in the land which it had desolated, could not realize the horrible destruction of a victorious army—an army which had for fifteen years, with growing might, excited first the admiration, then the terror, and lastly the paralyzed dismay of all the continental nations, and which had at length been overtaken by a fearful judgment, more wonderful than its conquests. But the strange event was there; reports no longer to be doubted crowded in upon us; the distant voice approached; the portentous words sounded clearer and clearer, and at last the loud call to rise was shouted through the land. Then did the flood of feeling burst from hearts where it had been long pent up; fuller and freer did it flow; then the long-hidden love to king and country flamed brightly out, and the dullest minds were animated by the wild enthusiasm. Every one looked for a tremendous crisis, but the moment was not yet come for action, and while resting in breathless expectation, thousands and thousands became every hour stronger still to meet it."—p. 214.

King Frederick William called for a general arming, and Steffens, in a public lecture, exhorted the youth to respond, announcing his own determination to take his part and go in the ranks. Steffens' military career forms rather a *bathos* after his really grand efforts in the lecture-room. His course appears to have been a series of blunders; these he relates himself with a simplicity which amounts almost to humor. This episode in his life closed with the battle of Leipsic, of which he was an eye-witness, having taken part with General Langeron in the attack on Schönfeld.

After the battle of Leipsic, Steffens obtained his discharge, and resumed his academic duties. He concludes the account of his military career with the following anecdote of a rather amusing dilemma, in which he considers himself to have been involved, but which appears to have been principally of his own creating.

"I must not omit to record my last dilemma. My passport had been made out to 'The Second Lieutenant and Professor Dr. Steffens.' I protested against the arrangement of these titles. I represented that I must stand by my real profession, and not that which I had only provisionally followed. I asked my kind friend who made out the passport whether, supposing the title of second lieutenant to be superior, I could in future designate myself Mr. Second Lieutenant without disparaging my academic office. After much discussion on the point, I made a proposal which would avoid the question of the precedence of my two characters, that instead of Mr. Second Lieutenant and Professor, etc., etc., I should be styled Second Lieutenant Mr. Professor, etc., etc. This was adopted, and the difficulty happily obviated."—p. 263.

In 1832 Steffens received a call to the University of Berlin, which had been for many years the object of his ambition. Then he takes leave of the reader in the following simple words:

"The preparation of my autobiography has been one of the recreations of my declining years, for it is not without pleasure that I have gone back into the valley of past years, reviewed the scenes and the hopes of youth and early manhood, and recalled the faces and characters of those whom I have known and loved. Mine has been an eventful life, and passed in eventful days, and I trust that its story has not been a mere recreation to an old man, but to many a reader who loves the social and the scholarly life of Germany."

Educators, especially—all interested in education—will be much pleased with "German University Life." But there is no intelligent person who will not find it at once instructive and attractive.

SCIENCE.

Some Leading Principles of Political Economy Newly Expounded. By J. E. CAIRNES, M. A., Emeritus Professor of Political Economy in University College, London. 8vo, pp. 421. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

THE science of Political Economy has been so frequently and ably expounded, that we are almost led to ask, "What need of another treatise?" It is no mean and easy thing to deal with a branch of knowledge that has engaged the most earnest thoughts of Aristotle, Adam Smith, Malthus, Ricardo, and Mill. An examination of the work before us, however, will show the success of this attempt to "newly expound" the generally received principles of Political Economy. It is but just to say that, whilst the author simply claims to "strengthen" the "fabric" of the toil of others, he also joins "issue" with some of the most distinguished writers on the science.

The treatise contains three principal parts, viz.: Value, Labor and Capital, International Trade. Each of these embraces several subordinate parts of great importance to the student of the science. Under the heading of "Preliminary" there are some useful and just remarks on the strict meaning of certain words used in the terminology of economical science. For example, "value" and "utility" are strictly defined, and thus guarded against those tendencies to destroy their generally received and accurate meaning. It would be well if the importance of properly defining words were more generally recognized, or, at least, practised; for who does not know that a great deal of the strife, both ancient and modern, has arisen from ill defined words? We are therefore pleased to notice that Professor Cairnes devotes the necessary attention to this branch of the subject. There is a relative idea in the phrase "value." Whatever may be the definitions of different writers, as far as our research extends, they all embrace the cardinal idea of "exchange." Hence there has been but little or no difference in this matter except as to completeness, or the superiority of one definition

over another. Whether we accept Professor Jevins' "ratio of exchange" or Professor Cairnes' "exchange value," the meaning is pretty much the same, and would be a "distinction without a difference." We are persuaded that the simple word "value" is sufficient to convey an adequate relative idea without any prefix whatever, except for the simple purpose of marking it off from the misuse to which it has been put.

The discussion as to what determines "value" has brought out the paramount importance of clearly defining "utility," and of understanding and using it only in the sense defined. The views held by Say and Jevins, as apparently opposed to the chief English writers, spring entirely from the fact that they used the word utility in different senses. It is clear that the former used the word "utility" in a *marketable* sense, whilst the latter used it as representing real and vital usefulness. Messrs. Say and Jevins certainly did not mean to imply that the diamond was as useful as coal, but that as a marketable commodity it was superior, being thus more valuable.

Under the heading of "Supply and Demand" we find that Professor Cairnes is at issue with Mr. Mill. Most of our readers are familiar with Mill's criticism of the expression "a ratio between 'demand and supply.'" He asks, "what ratio can there be between a quantity and a desire, or even a desire combined with a power?" We venture to think that Mr. Mill lost sight of what is *implied* in the "demand" as well as "supply." In both phrases the idea of something material is implied. On this point Professor Cairnes says :—

"But surely it is not correct to describe supply simply as a quantity. A mere quantity of goods does not constitute supply until it is offered for sale, that is to say, until the quantity is connected with a mental feeling. And though it is true, as I have just pointed out, that the phenomenon is measured by the quantity, and not by the feeling, it is not the less true that demand is also measured by its material element."—p. 26.

The chapters on "Normal Value," "Market Value," and "Derivative Laws of Value," are such as will be generally received and cause but little dissent. A difference of opinion may very naturally be held as to the relative value of such phrases as "necessary value," used by Mr. Mill; "natural value," used by Adam Smith and Ricardo, and "normal value," borrowed by Professor Cairnes from M. Cherbuliez's work "*Précis de la Science économique*."

There is undoubtedly a "necessary" law at work by which all exchanges of the market gravitate toward a "central point." It is as "necessary" as the laws that regulate supply and demand. Whilst we do not question the accuracy of the phrase, "normal value," yet we think the phrase "necessary value" clear, expressive and adequate.

Under the designation "Labor and Capital" our attention is directed to "Trade Unionism," a subject of no little importance both in the Old and New Worlds. It is the problem of problems in economical

science as to how far Trade Unions may go in the direction of increase of wages with safety to themselves and the commonwealth. According to Mr. Thornton (On Labor, p. 310), "Unionism cannot keep up the rate in one trade without keeping it down in others." It would be well for the working classes generally to ponder on this fact and act accordingly. Strikes, if successful, at best produce but a transitory and unsatisfactory state of prosperity. Assuming that there is a "Wages Fund," to draw largely on for one branch of industry it will either lessen the profits of capitalists, and thus lessen the inducements to invest in that branch, or it will lessen the wages of other laborers, and thus the prosperity of one class injure other classes. On this subject Professor Cairnes says:

"In other words, the action of Trade Unions in forcing up wages under the circumstances in question, however it might for the moment raise wages at the expense of profits, would have for permanent consequence precisely the opposite result; for, by increasing the risk of investment, it would tend to raise the minimum rate of profit, and, in proportion as it did so, to narrow the field for the employment of capital in the country."—p. 223.

We should like to show how Trade Unions might be beneficial, both to the laboring classes and the nation, by adopting educational schemes in the direction of skilled labor, and also by rendering aid in sickness and want, but want of time and space forbids.

There is one subject of interest, to the United States especially, dealt with by Professor Cairnes under the general designation of "International Trade," viz., "Free Trade and Protection." There are two sides to this, as to every question, and no doubt demands careful and judicious attention and research. Of course the protection of the United States does not go so far as to absolutely prohibit importation of certain goods that may be produced at home, but levies a tax sufficiently serious to affect importation to any large extent. The first question for the United States to ask is, Would it be politic or right for the national interests? Would not rivalry be somewhat healthy, and the gain greater than the loss? Professor Cairnes sums up this argument against protection, thus:

"As regards the industries of raw produce, protection does not call into existence a single branch of production which would not equally have existed under free trade; it merely alters the proportions in which such industries are carried on, hindering their natural and healthy development: (2) in the domain of manufacturing industry it is equally inefficacious as a means of creating variety in industrial pursuits; for if on the one hand it secures a precarious existence for certain kinds of manufacture, on the other, by artificially enhancing the price of raw material, it discourages other kinds which in its absence would grow and flourish: while (3) over and above all these injurious effects, it vitiates the industrial atmosphere by engendering lethargy, routine, and a reliance on legislative expedients, so the great discouragement of those qualities on which, above all, successful industry mainly depends—energy, economy, and enterprise."—p. 405.

We believe if these arguments be fairly weighed there will be an

acknowledgment that they are worthy of attention. The perusal of the whole work will show that Professor Cairnes has clearly grasped the leading principles of political economy, and has especially dealt with the protectionist doctrine in a fair and able manner.

Elements from Old Subjects. Presented as a Basis for a Science of Mind, etc., etc. By JOHN GASKELL. 8vo, pp. 176. Philadelphia: Claxton, Remsen & Haffelfinger. 1874.

The author tells us that he contemplates in this work departing from Locke at the point where he gives us nothing of system respecting the relation of "sensation," "idea," and "thought." In other words, he claims to correlate these three, and thus form a system. The editor claims for the author the merit of originality as to the application of correlation to several particulars of the science of mind. The correlation is thus set forth in the following definitions of "Sensation," "Idea," and "Thought:"

"A Sensation is an effect produced in any human or other being in such way that the effect is conveyed to the brain so as to cause reaction from the brain.

An *Idea* is a connection of sensations in such way that a primary sensation and a secondary one become reciprocally relative to that which causes the primary sensation.

A Thought, in the simplest condition, is a connection of ideas in such way that one is relative to another consecutively."—p. 5.

Some views worthy of notice are to be found under the heading of the "Correlation of the Subject, and the Object with their Connection in a Thought." "The Correlation of the Objective, the Subjective, and the Reflective of Knowledge." It will be sufficient to say that the principle of correlation runs through the whole of this part, and is ingeniously put. It may be pushed too far, but certainly the author gives good reasons for its general adoption.

It is a strange fact that so many nations differing in language agree in their mode of numbering by advancing to ten, and again to ten, in orderly steps to millions. Mr. Gaskell, in his treatment of the "Philosophy of Numeration," endeavors to explain this general harmony:

"This question may appear of no obvious utility, whether for intellectual amusement or the acquisition of wealth, but I affirm that a correct answer to it will include a law of mind which governs our religious, our moral, and our political doctrines, as well as our mode of calculating dollars.—p. 10^o.

It will at once be observed that the author of this work differs from the views of many distinguished writers on the origin of the decimal mode of numeration. He has no sympathy with the belief that man was accustomed to reckon with his ten fingers, and that thus the number ten became the basis of calculation. The view held by so many great investigators respecting the general use of ten is natural, and, in spite of the criti-

cisms of this work, we are still inclined to hold to that view. Man would naturally find an arbitrary sign to represent his assumed mode of reckoning by his fingers, and we observe a general harmony in practice among children before they have advanced far in the science of numeration. But Mr. Gaskell's theory is worthy of attention, nevertheless. He says :

"The above 9 figures (speaking of the English and Arabic numerals), from one succession, which includes a correlation of correlation, and this means a correlation of three threes ; and then we stop. We must begin now, not merely to correlate things numerically, but also to *arrange* them numerically. Accordingly, if we select the digit 1 to denote our first arrangement of numbers, and apply it thus, 10, we shall acquire the number ten, which denotes arrangement of numbers as well as the individual that denotes the arrangement numbered. Thus, we can easily conceive 10 as an arrangement *digit*ed by the digit 1 ; then, if we proceed onward, and consecutively digit consecutive arrangements to the full extent of digits, we shall arrive at 90, by using digit in a secondary manner."—p. 112.

From this extract it will be seen that the author carries the principle of correlation into the science of numbers in a novel manner. We cannot but express a wish that this part of the book especially may be carefully perused.

MISCELLANEOUS.

Manual of Universal Church History. By the Rev. Dr. JOHN ALZOG, Professor of Theology at the University of Freiburg. Translated with additions from the Ninth and last German Edition. By F. J. PABISCH and Rev. THOS. S. BYRNE, in Three Volumes, with Three Chronological Tables and Three Ecclesiastico-Geographical Maps. Volume 1. 8vo, pp. 779. Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co. 1874.

Although necessarily written from the standpoint of the author's own faith, this is a work of great value to the student of ecclesiastical history without reference to creed. The Professor comes to the front and unfurls his standard boldly at the very commencement of the work in the following words:

"Religion is a condition to the existence of a Church, and, as such, must be the basis of Church History."—p. 1.

This leading principle is broadly set forth in what is styled the "Scientific Introduction," with which the work is prefaced. The Christian idea of a Church, as not merely a religious community, but a sacred organization established by Jesus Christ and his apostles to be the guardian of the faith and the refuge from destruction, forms the basis of the book.

The scientific is followed by an Historical Introduction, intended to illustrate the religious, moral and political condition of the Pagans and

Jews at the birth of Christ. Here, in a brief review of the various religions existing at that period, the author has shown how the Pagans of Greece and Rome had become dissatisfied with their popular beliefs, which they regarded as little better than myths, and were yearning for a new revelation. How, in the East, the Buddhists and Confucians looked forward to an expected redeemer; how the Hindoo awaited a human incarnation of Vishnu; how the Israelites were at that period expecting the promised Messiah, the time for whose advent, as calculated from the predictions of their prophets, they were fully persuaded was now at hand. They were aware that the two principal signs had been fulfilled. The seventy weeks of years spoken of by Daniel had expired, and the sceptre had now for the first time departed from Judah, when the crown was conferred by Augustus on Herod the Great.

"Who can fail to recognize in these events the hand of Divine Providence repairing the world for the reception and propagation of Christianity? And who, reflecting on the happy consummation of the purposes of God, will not cry out in wonder and admiration with the Apostle of the Gentiles: 'God hath concluded all in unbelief, that He may have mercy on all. O the depth of the riches, of the wisdom and of the knowledge of God! How incomprehensible are His judgments and how unsearchable His ways.'" Rom. xi, 32-33.—p 132.

The history of the Church is divided by the author into three periods: 1st. From the foundation of the Christian Church to the end of the seventh century. 2d. From the commencement of the eighth century to the period of the Reformation. 3d. From the Reformation (or, as the author styles it, the Western Schism) to the present day. Only the first of these periods is treated in the present volume.

No history of the church should commence elsewhere than with its founder; and accordingly the first part of the work is devoted to Christ and the apostolic age. The first two chapters are historical, and are taken principally from the Bible, and such accounts as have come down to us of the labors of the apostles. The third chapter relates to the form and constitution of the Apostolic Church, and the distinctions, primarily, of the clergy and laity, and secondarily of the three orders of ministry in the church. The Scriptural character of the episcopacy is strongly argued as well as its distinction from the presbytery with which it has been confounded; but it strikes us that the author has overlooked one of the strongest arguments in favor of his position, viz., the evidence contained in the first Epistle to Timothy. No candid reader of this Epistle can doubt that Timothy (therein styled *ἐπίσκοπος*), was appointed by Paul over the entire Church at Ephesus; and that there were presbyters under him appears from the fifth chapter, in which he, as bishop, receives instructions as to the course to be observed with an elder (*πρεσβυτερον*). St. James in like manner (ch. 4, 14), speaks of the *elders* of the Church in terms which show that there were more than one in each church; whereas no

church had ever more than one bishop. The summary of the doctrine of the Apostles is very clearly and succinctly set forth at the conclusion of Part 1.

"The Apostles, in obedience to the command of Christ, 'Go forth and teach all nations,' began their work by proclaiming to the world the three great fundamental truths of the Christian religion, the *Incarnation* of the son of God, *His Death and Resurrection*, to which they added instructions on the necessity of *faith in God*, *penance for sin*, and *justification by faith*, and gave explanations of baptism conferred in the Name of the Father and of the Son and of the Holy Ghost, and of the meaning of the laying on of hands. They followed these up with a clear statement of the doctrine relative to the forgiveness of sins, the resurrection from the dead, and final judgment. In these doctrines were essentially and formally contained all the articles of belief embodied in the *Symbol of Faith* known as the *Apostle's Creed*, and which, based upon Apostolic tradition, was given to the world at a later date."—p. 239.

The account of the various heresies which distracted the early Church is abundantly full and interesting. The earliest heretics, the Gnostics and Manichæans, can hardly be said to have been Christians at all. They appear to have had theogonies and gospels of their own invention, in which the Scriptural revelation formed but a part (and in many instances but a small part) of the system of their creed. Even the earlier heretics that grew up within the Church (the Montanists and the Alogi) seem to have had little credence in scriptural revelation, but relied on pretended inspirations of their own. One noticeable fact put forward in this History is that the Arian was by no means the first heresy which denied the doctrine of the Trinity. This was disputed as early as the third century by the Ebionites (prominently represented by Paul of Samosata) who denied the divinity of Christ, and, also, by the Patripassionists (represented by Sabellins, and sometimes called Sabellians), who denied his separate personality, asserting that the Father had himself suffered in the flesh.

Notwithstanding the fierce opposition which the Church encountered from without, and the heresies and schisms by which it was distracted within, its propagation through Europe and Asia, during the first three centuries, was steady and rapid; and, on its recognition by Constantine in the early part of the fourth century, its victory over paganism seemed complete. Even the apostacy of Julian was, in the words of St. Athanasius, "but a passing cloud," and under the successors of that emperor paganism appears to have disappeared from the cities of the Roman Empire. But fresh trials were in store for the Church. As her external adversaries diminished internal adversaries arose. Professor Alzog, in the portion of the work devoted to what he calls the Second Epoch of the first period, *i. e.* : the epoch commencing with the Edict of Pacification under Constantine, has given a highly interesting and instructive account of the heresies which arose during that interval and the devel-

opment of the doctrine of the Catholic Church, occasioned by their rise. On this subject he remarks with great justice:

"We are not giving a history of the doctrines of the Church. They suffer no change, and are at present precisely what they have been from the beginning; there are no new doctrines to-day and no modifications of the old. We are not, therefore, giving here a history, but a *development* of the Church's doctrine; that is to say, we propose to show, as St. Vincent, of Sesins, aptly remarks, how a *doctrine*, while *remaining one and immutable*, may gradually acquire a more precise expression, a more determinate outline and shape, and a more vigorous definition, may, in a word, undergo a process analagous to what takes place in the human body, which, while preserving its essential identity and retaining the same number of members and the same character of organs, increases and assumes a more fixed and recognizable mold as time goes on."—p. 506.

In accordance with this principle, Professor Alzog has given us in the latter portion of the work a valuable and lucid account of the various heresies which called forth the Six Ecumenical Synods, and of the declarations of Catholic doctrine elicited thereby. The Arian heresy occasioned the Council of Nice, which, in the Nicene Creed, announced the doctrine of the Church as to the divinity of the Son of God. The Council of Constantinople was convened to condemn the heresy of the Macedonians, who denied the divinity of the Holy Ghost. This Council enlarged the Nicene Creed by inserting the formula defining the doctrine of the Church on that subject. The Council of Ephesus condemned the heresy of Nestorius, who asserted that God the Word and the Man Jesus Christ were distinct and separate persons. The Council of Chalcedon repudiated the opposite heresy advanced by Eutyches, who denied the human nature of Christ; and the doctrine of the Church on the subject was still more strongly affirmed at the Second Council at Constantinople. The Sixth and last Ecumenical Synod, held also at Constantinople, condemned the Monothelites, who admitted the human nature of Christ, but denied that he possessed a human will.

With the account of the Six Ecumenical Synods the historical part of this volume may be said to conclude. The remaining chapters of the book are devoted to the constitution and government of the Church, and the worship, sacraments, and moral and religious life of the ancient Christians.

A great merit in Professor Alzog's treatment of the subject consists in the care with which, at the head of each important division of a chapter, he indicates his sources of information. This will be of advantage to such inquirers as, not content with a *résumé* of Church History, may prefer to derive their information directly from the fountain head. The translators have performed their work faithfully and satisfactorily. Their notes are a valuable addition to the work. Dr. Pabisch is himself a profound scholar, and we know no ecclesiastic occupying a similar position anywhere, more liberal minded or more free from sectarian prejudice.

The Earth as Modified by Human Action; a new edition of Man and Nature. By GEORGE P. MARSH. 8vo, pp. 656. New York: Scribner, Armstrong & Co. 1874.

The object of this work, as set forth in the preface, is to point out briefly but forcibly the remarkable changes which have been made on the physical condition of the earth by the action of its inhabitants, and especially to call attention to the serious evils produced by a number of these changes, and the dangers to which the present and future generations are exposed by the recklessness with which many of them are effected. The author finds a pregnant text in the present condition of those regions which constituted the flourishing Roman Empire—for a long time the garden of the world—now so exhausted as with difficulty to support even the present reduced population. A still stronger instance might have been discovered in the ancient regions of the East. Judea, described in the Bible as “a land flowing with milk and honey,” is now a barren and rocky waste. Idumea is a desert occupied only by Nomadic tribes. Persia, whose fertility was for generations the theme of the poet, has latterly experienced the most frightful famine recorded in modern times. In our own land we are not without similar examples. The soil of Maryland, exhausted by the tobacco culture, no longer enriches the planter; Virginia, long before the war, had ceased to find her slaves a source of profit except as an article of merchandise; and large tracts in the Carolinas and Georgia manifest the exhausting effects of too constant a culture of their staple productions.

To call attention to the evil before it had become irremediable, and to point out the modes in which the errors of the past may be avoided, and, perhaps, remedied in the future, is the object proposed by our author. In the introductory chapter he has given us a forcible picture of the devastation already effected:

“The ravages committed by man subvert the relations and destroy the balance which Nature had established between her organic and her inorganic creations, and she avenges herself upon the intruder by letting loose upon her defaced provinces destructive energies hitherto kept in check by organic forces destined to be his best auxiliaries, but which he has unwisely dispersed and driven from the field of action. When the forest is gone the great reservoir of moisture stored up in its vegetable mould is evaporated, and returns only in deluges of rain to wash away the parched dust into which that mould has been converted. The well-wooded and humid hills are turned to ridges of dry rock which encumbers the low grounds, and chokes the water-courses with its *débris*; and, except in countries favored with an equable distribution of rain throughout the seasons, and a moderate and regular inclination of surface, the whole earth, unless rescued by human art from the physical degradation to which it tends, becomes an assemblage of bald mountains, of barren, turfless hills, and of swampy and malarious plains. There are parts of Asia Minor, of Northern Africa, of Greece, and even of Alpine Europe, where the operation of causes set in action by man has brought the face of the earth to a desolation almost as complete as that of the moon.—p. 43.

The subsequent chapters are devoted to an inquiry into the different influences which are, or have been modified, and in some instances extirpated by the human race. The second chapter treats of the vegetable and animal species which, by their various transfers and modifications, have influenced the general aspect of nature. This, it would appear, has in the case of vegetables been effected less by intentional transplantation than by accidental dispersion of seeds. Seeds are transported in the *excreta* of birds, in the fleeces of sheep, and in the coats of horned cattle. The first wheat sowed in Mexico grew from an accidental deposit in the rice of the Spanish commissariat. The following are two remarkable instances of the apparently trifling accidents by which Providence carries out its schemes in the development of nature's resources:—

"When the cases containing the artistic treasures of Thowaldsen were opened in the court of the Museum where they are deposited, the straw and grass employed in packing them were scattered upon the ground, and the next season there sprang up from the seeds no less than twenty-five species of plants belonging to the Roman Campagna, some of which were preserved and cultivated as a new tribute to the memory of the great Scandinavian sculptor, and at least four are said to have spontaneously naturalized themselves about Copenhagen. The Canada thistle, which is said to have accompanied the early French voyagers to Canada from Normandy, is reported to have been introduced into other parts of Europe two hundred years ago by a seed which dropped out of the stuffed skin of an American bird."—pp. 69, 70.

The author has not, however, predicated any particular evil as resulting from the transposition of vegetables, nor even from the occasional extirpation of the wild indigenous plant by the culture of the useful and domestic esculents. Changes of the nature above mentioned we should be inclined to consider as a part of the original scheme of Providence, and as useful agents in renewing and fertilizing what might otherwise become barren and exhausted soil.

The influence of animals on physical life is, however, much more remarkable than that of vegetables. Our author has given us a curious instance of the agency of the beaver in creating many of the bogs which encumber our Northern and Western States.

"There are few swamps at the outlets of which we may not, by careful search, find the remains of a beaver dam. The reservoir once constructed, its inhabitants rapidly multiply, so long as the trees and the harvests of pond lilies and other aquatic plants on which this quadruped feeds in winter suffice for the supply of the growing population. But the extension of the water causes the death of the neighboring trees, and the annual growth of those which could be reached by canals and floated to the pond soon becomes insufficient for the wants of the community, and the beaver metropolis now sends out expeditions of discovery and colonization. The pond gradually fills up by the operation of the same causes as when it owes its existence to an accidental obstruction, and when at last the original settlement is converted into a bog by the usual processes of vegetable life, the remaining inhabitants abandon it."—p. 82.

The extirpation, total or partial, of various wild animals, and the

transfer and acclimatization of domestic animals would not appear to have been productive of any very deleterious results. In the case of fish, again, notwithstanding the enormous destruction which has been effected among them, their natural reproductiveness is so enormous that no sensible diminution in their quantity has been experienced, except in the case of the aquatic mammalia. One important fact, however, is mentioned, from which a real and very considerable, though not otherwise perceptible, reduction of the finny tribes may be inferred.

"The phosphorescence of the sea was unknown to ancient writers, or at least scarcely noticed by them, and even Homer (who, blind as tradition makes him when he composed his epics, had seen and marked in earlier life all that the glorious nature of the Mediterranean and its coasts discloses to unscientific observation) nowhere alludes to this most beautiful and striking of maritime wonders. Is it not possible that in modern times the animalculæ which produce it may have immensely multiplied from the destruction of their natural enemies by man, and hence that the gleam shot forth by their decomposition, or by their living processes, is both more frequent and more brilliant than in the days of classic antiquity?"—p. 104.

It is in the destruction of birds that the greatest mischief has been done by man to the operations of the wise provisions of nature. Birds disseminate vegetation by carrying seeds and depositing them thousands of miles from their parent plants; they protect vegetation by destroying the insects which prey upon it. Therefore, the wholesale slaughtering of birds by the idle sportsman, or the farmer who imagines that he is protecting his crops, leaves the field free for myriads of noxious insects whose devastations immeasurably exceed those of the birds. The same fact our author has shown to be true of the reptiles, and he has even a good word for the earthworms who occupy a singular and important position in the economy of nature by fertilizing and even by elevating the fresh soil.

The third chapter is devoted to the woods, and here again our author has shown that the wholesale destruction of forests throughout the world has removed the chief protection against malaria, and deprived the Territories which extended along their Southern border of a valuable bulwark against the cold winds of the North. A still more disastrous result of sacrificing the forests exists in the increased risk of inundations. It is distinctly shown that one great cause of mountain torrents, lies in the hardening of the exposed soil deprived of its original shade, thus forming reservoirs in which the melting snows of spring accumulate, and beds down which they rush in the rainy season, overwhelming the wretched inhabitants in the ruin which they have unconsciously prepared for themselves.

The fourth chapter relates to man's dealings with the waters, and the immense results achieved by draining, dyking, and irrigation; and the fifth to the curious accumulations known as sand dunes and their

agency in destroying, or at least obliterating, the works of the human race. The sand-drifts in Egypt, which have buried so many of their mighty works, are shown to have arisen not wholly from the desert, but also from the sea, and to have been the accumulations of ages subsequent to the Persian invasion.

"While Egypt was a great and flourishing kingdom, measures were taken to protect its territory against the encroachment of sand, whether from the desert or from the Mediterranean; but the foreign conquerors who destroyed so many of its religious monuments, did not spare its public works, and the process of physical degradation undoubtedly began as early as the Persian invasion. The urgent necessity which has compelled all the successive tyrannies of Egypt to keep up some of the canals and other arrangements for irrigation, was not felt with respect to the advancement of the sands, for their progress was so slow as hardly to be preceptible in the course of a single reign."—p. 556.

The sixth and last chapter contains a *résumé* of the great physical changes effected or projected by the human race in different parts of the world; but these descriptions yield in interest to the brief account at the end of the chapter of the various incidental (and the author might add *accidental*) effects of human action. Not the least remarkable among them is the gradual and uniform elevation of the ground on which large cities stand, the result of daily accretions:

"The present streets of Rome are twenty feet, and in many places much more, above those of the ancient city. The Appian Way between Rome and Albano, when cleared out a few years ago, was found buried four or five feet deep, and the fields along the road were elevated nearly or quite as much. The floors of many churches in Italy, not more than six or seven centuries old, are now three or four feet below the adjacent streets, though it is proved by excavations that they were built as many feet above them."—p. 642.

It will be seen that the work, despite the warning tone in which it commences, is not so much a protest against the evils effected by man's improvidence, as a general and detailed account of the changes, whether for good or evil, brought about by his agency. Although it can hardly be said to carry out to a very full extent the purposes announced in the preface, there is enough of interesting information in its pages abundantly to repay perusal.

Memories of Many Men and of Some Women. Being Personal Recollections of Emperors, Kings, Queens, Princes, Presidents, Statesmen, Authors, and Artists, at Home and Abroad, During the last Thirty Years. By MAUNSELL B. FIELD. 18mo, pp. 339. New York: Harper & Brothers. 1874.

WE are inclined to think that Mr. Field is mistaken in the title of his work. It should properly have been styled "*Catalogue raisonné* of all the celebrities, great and small, male and female, native and foreign, who have on one or more occasions taken notice of Maunsell B. Field with a plentiful besprinkling of titles, foreign preferred." At least, we

must confess that, after an extended perusal of the work, the impressions of which we were principally conscious were: That Mr. Field had furnished a light to the cigar of the Duc de Nemours (p. 16); that he was talked to a long time, tendered many civilities, and presented with a cigar by the King of Holland (p. 18); that the present Emperor of Germany, when Crown Prince of Prussia, was particularly polite to him (p. 19); that Prince Albert of Prussia availed himself of his arm on the walk to the cataracts of the Nile (p. 28); that Prince Lucien Murat sat next him at table (p. 32); that Lord Raglan smoked a cigar in his company (p. 38); that Louis Napoleon remarked to him that it was a fine day (!) (p. 47); AND that the Queen of Spain entertained, and in fact implored, him to remain in Madrid for her ball (!) (p. 92).

Such a galaxy of stars assembled to illumine the name of the author, shedding their light within the first hundred pages of the volume, may well dazzle the American reader unaccustomed to "thrones, principalities, and powers," as he contemplates the brilliant career of the hero, in comparison with which the homage paid to Joseph (though we believe only in a dream) by the sun, moon, and eleven stars, is resolved into a mere circumstance. Encircled with such a halo of reflected glory, it cannot be a matter of surprise that the author advances with proud humility to receive the congratulations of the reading public, as one who may say, in the words of the poet Hafiz, "Touch me not. I have been with roses."

Some few of these roses, it must be confessed, were not particularly savory. The King of Holland, as we are told,

"Made the Hague during his reign the rendezvous of the vilest characters in Europe."—p. 18.

The Hereditary Grand Duke of Lucca was a mountebank, and worse. Lucien Murat was

"Careless in his person, a voracious feeder, and the most formidable snorer that I ever met."—p. 32.

Even of the most Catholic Queen, the beloved daughter of the Church, and the recipient of the Golden Rose from Pio Nono himself, we are informed that

"The most shocking and disgusting stories were told about the Queen. All classes seemed to vie in speaking ill of her, and the foulest anecdotes about her private life were related to *whomsoever* (*sic*) would give a listening ear."—p. 94.

But the most edifying spectacle of all is presented by King Bomba, of Naples, the cousin of the Royal Isabella, and, as Mr. Field justly remarks, a model of disreputable royalty.

"He was obese, vulgar, and filthy to the eye, and was said to be the most ill-bred man in Europe. Among other stories that were circulated about him was the following: It was said that soon after his second marriage, a court ball was given at the Palace in honor of the event. The Queen had been dancing and the King pretended to conduct her to a chair; but just as she was about sitting down, he

withdrew it, so that she came in confusion to the floor. In her mortification she turned upon him and said: "When I married you I supposed that I was marrying a king, whereas I find that I have married a lazzarone." Whereupon, by way of climax, he slapped her face before the whole assembly."—p. 26.

The above anecdote is one of a singularly small number when we consider the ostensible purpose of the book. A volume which proposes to introduce us to Thackeray and Dickens, Washington Irving and the Ettrick Shepherd, and to a host of *notabilités*, literary and otherwise, as well as to the prominent royal personages of the last thirty years, might be expected to abound with anecdotes of their sayings and doings—incidents in their lives which are characteristic of the men, or at least possess an interest as connected with their fortunes—and even impressions of their personal appearance and general deportment. It would be impossible, we should think, to be long in the society of Thackeray, for instance, without becoming the recipient of some *bon-mot*, some profound thought veiled in living language, which has not become the property of the public, and would, if told, impart a charm to the pages in which he is introduced; but in these respects the volume before us is absolutely *nil*. Of Thackeray, for example, we are told little more than that he spoke of a young lady as "a devilish good fellow."

"He then took out his watch, said that it was late, and that he must go home. 'To-morrow,' he said, 'I have to accompany a lady to Church. In the afternoon I go to Philadelphia. When I arrive there, I mean to go directly to the club, and forthwith begin to intoxicate myself.'"—p. 215.

Surely, after an intercourse of any extent with such a man as Thackeray, some better reminiscence than this might have been preserved.

Where such is the treatment accorded to one of the giants of the age, it is not to be expected that other authors should fare much better; Dickens is avowedly the object of Mr. Field's aversion, and what little is told of him would not of course be calculated to elevate him in our opinion; but of Washington Irving, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Mr. and Mrs. S. C. Hall, Samuel Lover, Nathaniel Hawthorne, and even Macaulay, to all of whom we are in turn introduced, we are told little or nothing which will cause us to feel that we are more at home with them, or that our knowledge of them is increased by the fact that Mr. Field has been in their society.

We have dwelt at some length on this defect, because, in reading Mr. Field's book, we have been strongly impressed with the fact that, even when dealing with the names of the most public and general interest, anecdotes to be told should be worth the telling, reminiscences should be of qualities or incidents in some way characteristic, and that little advantage is obtained by their introduction unless the reader's as well as the writer's familiarity with them is to profit thereby.

A desultory work like the present, dealing with a variety of characters, can, however, be made entertaining by varied and spirited sketches of individuals, concerning whom the public curiosity is sufficiently slight to be gratified by a lively, if superficial, portraiture of the impressions produced by them on a casual interview. In this respect Mr. Field has been not unsuccessful. His style is vivacious and easy—he has evidently a keen eye for the ludicrous, and can place a grotesque figure before the eye of the reader with the vivacity of a *genre* painter. Take, for instance, the following sketch of one of the royal personages whom he encountered on his first visit to Europe:

"I came upon a very singular person during my visit to Turin. I was one day sitting alone in the dining-room of my hotel, waiting for my dinner to be served. There were a great many ladies and gentlemen in the room at the same time, either dining or expecting to dine. Presently there entered a very tall young man, dressed, or rather over-dressed, in the most *outré* Paris fashion, who seated himself at a round table, hitherto unoccupied, which stood between two windows which opened upon the street. His first act was to roll up a napkin into a ball and throw it at the head of a waiter in a distant part of the room, for the purpose of attracting his attention. Shortly afterward, he was joined by two young officers, in uniform, and I observed a deference in their manner toward him which strangely compared with his ill-bred conduct. Every few minutes, he would spring from his seat, rush to one of the windows, shout to some passer-by at the top of his voice, and wave a napkin, as if in salutation. All the time, he talked so loud as to drown all other conversation in the room. I noticed that the ladies smiled behind their fans; but neither their gentleman companions nor the people of the hotel seemed to pay any attention to his eccentricities. After dinner, I went for a walk to the public promenade. I had been sauntering about for some time, when I saw approaching an English drag drawn by four magnificent horses. In the inside were three military gentlemen, and lying upon the roof at full length, his long legs dangling over on one side, and his head extended beyond the other, was the strange young man whom I had seen at dinner. There was a crowd of pedestrians, and as the drag rolled on, he kissed his hand and fluttered a pocket handkerchief at the ladies. I knew nobody there, and I did not venture to ask who he was. But after I had returned to the hotel, I went straight to the proprietor and inquired about him. He informed me that he was the HEREDITARY GRAND DUKE OF LUCCA and nephew to CHARLES ALBERT, to whose pious care his father had entrusted him. The King at first gave him apartments in the royal palace, but he conducted himself so outrageously that it soon became necessary to send him adrift. He was the scandal of all decent people in Turin. He had been turned out of many of the best houses for his shameful behavior. He had ever so many horses of his own, but he seldom drove any but hired ones. He would sometimes come to the hotel at noon and order a dinner for forty to be ready at night. He would never descend the palace stairs by walking down like other mortals, but always slid down the baluster like an untamed school-boy."—pp. 22-23.

By the side of such a Grand Duke, the vagaries of the Grande Duchesse de Gerolstein appear credible and natural.

The various public offices which Mr. Field has held both at home and abroad have enabled him to see numerous phases of society, and familiarized him with many prominent persons, whose names are to

most Americans either unknown, or known only through books. In the work before us he has assembled them altogether for the entertainment of the reader; and, although we would gladly have recognized a little more thought and discrimination in his treatment of the names of those whose works have rendered them dear to us, and perhaps not a little less egotism and love of fine names and sounding titles for their own sake, we may still welcome a readable book, in which old and new friends are brought before us, and which will doubtless fill many an unemployed hour agreeably.

Present Status of Social Science. A Review, Historical and Critical, of the Progress of Thought in Social Philosophy. By ROBERT S. HAMILTON. 18mo, pp. 332. New York: Henry L. Hinton & Co. 1874.

We should feel sadly puzzled if called upon to review a work which should start with the assertion that "A straight line is the longest distance between two given points," or, "The part is greater than the whole." Our first impulse would naturally be to cast the book aside as unworthy of notice—our second, perhaps, to examine the work carefully, and endeavor to discover if its perusal would elicit any profound or hidden truth veiled under this seemingly self-contradicting proposition.

We must confess that we were impressed in a very similar manner when, on opening the present work, we found ourselves confronted with the following announcement:

"For we do not know, we have not yet learned, how to begin our work properly, until we have already half finished it—nay, nearly completed it—in so far, indeed, as human effort ever completes any work. We have to finish our treatise before we discern clearly how it should have been commenced, and then only are we duly prepared to write the introduction, which seldom fails to suggest a remodelling of the whole work."—p. 1.

We have honestly made the endeavor, by a further perusal of the introduction, to discover the profound truth which might underlie this remarkable aphorism; but, encountering little more than the continued repetition of the same assertion in language more or less varied, we have concluded to leave it to the sagacity of the reader who undertakes the perusal of the volume, and to limit ourselves to an endeavor to ascertain the real object of the work, and to what extent its acknowledged purposes have been carried out by the author.

The design of the work, so far as we can ascertain, is to establish the principle that all the existing systems of thought in Social Philosophy are wrong, or at least insufficient, and to set forth a new system which shall supply the defects of all that have gone before.

The three systems of thought which the author recognizes as em-

bracing all the recognized principles of Social Philosophy are, first, the Political, which attributes the social ills of mankind to some error or omission in the government or political organism, or in the social organism of society; second, the Political-Economical, which attributes these ills to some misapprehension of the laws of wealth; and third, the Malthusian (which the author gravely informs us originated with Malthus), which attributes them to a misapprehension of the laws of population.

The essential insufficiency of these systems of thought having been predicated, and a couple of chapters devoted to their annihilation, the author proceeds to consider the more advanced ideas of previous authors before proceeding to develop his own, which are, he informs us, in entire accordance with those more advanced ideas. These ideas he expresses, as he says, briefly and sententiously in seven propositions.

Having discoursed on these various propositions at considerable length, our author indulges in a brief retrospect of the wisdom of antiquity as manifested by Confucius and Solon, and proceeds to a critical review of the writers on social philosophy in modern times. After a tolerably extended discussion of their views—in all of which he finds a great deal to contradict, notwithstanding his previous assertion that they are fully in accordance with his own—our author arrives at last, very near the close of the book, at a distinct statement of his own aim. His theory of social philosophy, as far as we can gather from what has gone before, is that as man creates his own government, and organizes his own society, it is only by elevating his intellectual and moral condition that any social reform can be effected, and that all efforts should, therefore, be directed to the improvement of man as his individual character, and not as the social mass.

How far this is practicable or probable, the reader may judge for himself on a perusal of the work. That the author, however, is not very hopeful of the result is plain from the following remarks, in which, for the first time, we are made aware of the aim that he proposes, and what he considers the probabilities of its success:

"Comte and Spencer, though more especially the former, aim at the improvement of society—the author of this work aims merely at the improvement of the ideas or knowledge of men in regard to society. They aim at reforming the morals of the world—he at merely reforming the intelligence of the world. They hope, at least, and expect some radical improvement of the morals of the world—being altogether too great philosophers not to perceive that such improvement must come, if it come at all, in the natural order of "progress" or "evolution"—that it must come as "a natural growth," as Spencer has so clearly and beautifully shown. The author of this work hardly dares hope for such improvement, much less expect it."—p. 274.

We have hardly allowed ourselves time to go into the merits of Mr. Hamilton's theories, nor are we disposed to discuss with him the

opinions which are expressed in the extraordinary denunciation of the American people and of the war for the Union with which he has favored us in Chapter XIII. Still, we may humbly trust that something better is in store for us than the terrible destruction with which he threatens us in the following words:

"Actæor may call on his trained dogs to desist. But it will be all in vain after he has lost the control. Nor will his unavailing cries save him from the doom of being devoured by his own hounds."—p. 304.

We fear that this work will hardly elucidate, to the satisfaction of the world, the much-vexed problem of social science. This might be a subject of regret, had the author originally contemplated effecting some practical result. But, as he has himself candidly admitted the hopelessness of achieving any of the desired reforms, he stands in the position of one who has merely tendered to the world an intellectual solution of some questions which have puzzled many of its wisest heads, and may console himself for any want of appreciation with the following bit of philosophy:

"'Tis not in mortals to command success;
I have done more, my public, I've deserved it!"

ERRATA.

It is but rarely we notice the errors of the press after the matter in which they occur has been printed off. In nine cases out of ten we omit to do so, partly because we know that every intelligent person is aware that no journal half the size of ours, of which all the "copy" is manuscript, is ever published without containing more or less of such; and partly because every reader of the same character can readily understand that the error is not that of the writer. Need we say that it is not alone in publications printed from manuscript, whether legible or illegible, that the most ludicrous and most mortifying mistakes are alternately made by our friends the printers. Even the Bible forms no exception. The most carefully printed editions of the Scriptures ever issued—editions revised by bishops, archbishops, and even by popes—have been disfigured by the most provoking, or most amusing typographical blunders.

Accordingly, no educated person who knows anything of the "art

preservative" ever abuses an editor, or author, because a word is incorrectly printed. But, unhappily, we have to do, sometimes, for our sins, with persons who, while affecting the most profound learning, have in fact no education beyond the merest smattering, and who are still more wanting in candor and moral honesty.

Thus, for example, most of our readers will remember that in our criticism on the University of Pennsylvania the name Quintilian was printed for Quintilius. Several times we sent back the proof for correction, but in vain. And this was the chief case made out against us by the learned Provost, aided by the whole Faculty and *alumni* of that famous University! The criticisms of one who, like us, would confound Quintilian with Quintilius, could not, of course, avail against so learned an institution as the University of Pennsylvania!

But lately Provost Stillé and his mob of retainers have been surpassed in this sort of thing by the Rev. Head-Master of "East Greenwich Academy of Boston University." Will it be believed that one of the means had recourse to by this reverend person in the threatening letter by which he tries to intimidate us, so that we shall not dare to criticise him,* is to inform us that we don't know how to spell "Catalogue?" Among other things for which we are to be "exposed" is this. What, then, is blackmail, if such threats as his be not a species of it? Yet we do not condemn him; still less do we cherish any ill-will against him, for we regard him as too much like Cowper's Housewife—

"With little understanding and no wit."

But for the benefit of such head-masters, provosts, etc., we beg leave to mark the following errors, only premising that, if the curious reader find others in his researches, we have no objection to his sending them, as promptly as he likes, to our head-master friends:

At page 352, for *Baaline* read *Baalim*.

Same page, for *ex omne genere* read *ex omni genere*.

At pages 360, 361, for *Horn* read *Home*.

At page 363, for *Schleinmacher* read *Schleiermacher*.

* See Article "Our Educators; A Model Head-Master," in present number.

APPENDIX—INSURANCE : GOOD, BAD, AND INDIFFERENT.

Reports of Insurance Superintendents, Insurance Commissioners, etc., etc.

OUR remarks on Insurance must necessarily be desultory on the present occasion; we have to entirely disregard "the unities" both of time and place. At the same time, we think we can promise such of our readers as are directly interested in the subject that, if they will give us their attention for half an hour or so, they will not be altogether dissatisfied with the result; for, although we only propose to ourselves an easy, off-hand chat in the present paper, it must not be supposed that we have neglected to study the facts. In no instance do we lay any claim to infallibility, but it is equally true that in no instance do we make an important assertion without feeling morally certain, from careful examination and research, that we are at least approximately correct; as nearly correct as the nature of the subject, and the difficulties which surround it, would admit.

We have recently received several letters requesting us to mention some of the suits referred to in our last, as illustrative of the course sometimes pursued by the Mutual Life, the New York Life, and certain other companies that have grown rich on the plan of obtaining from the public as much money as possible, and returning to it as little of it as possible. We have remarked, on various occasions, that sometimes the widow applies in vain for the amount of the policy on her husband's death. The company refuses on the ground that he was a drunkard; on the ground that he committed suicide; or on the ground that he had been a rebel, &c. In our March number we presented, as a sample, the case of Mrs. J. W. Smith against the Charter Oak Life, and showed that the judgment of the court was against the company, although it tried hard to prove that Smith was an intemperate person as well as a rebel.

We had before us at the time the suit of Terry *vs.* The Mutual Life, but did not deem it necessary to quote it. The company refused to pay the widow on the ground that her husband had committed suicide. She had to sue for the amount (\$2,000), and the court gave judgment in her favor. The company appealed; and the case was again tried before the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Kansas, which affirmed the judgment of the court below, so that the widow had finally to get her money, but not until a considerable proportion of it was consumed in suing for it. When a very glaring case of this kind occurs—one that has attracted much attention and excited public indignation against the company—the insurance organs are expected to gloss the thing over as much as possible. Accordingly, we can refer those who

wish orthodox authority as to the main facts, to the *Spectator* for June, 1873.

In the same number of that journal there is a similar report of the case of *Sands vs. The New York Life*, the ground of refusing to pay in this instance being, that the policy was nullified by the war. Here, too, there was an appeal; and it was tried, not in any Southern State or city, but in the Supreme Court of New York. Judge Peckham delivered the judgment of the court, which was to the effect that the rebellion did not nullify the policy, nor was it nullified by the fact that the person on whose life it was given was a rebel. If finally the company was forced to pay, it is easy to understand that, as in the cases of the *Mutual Life* and *Charter Oak*, a large percentage of the amount of the policy went into the pockets of the lawyers and law officers.

One other illustration of the wonderful "beneficence" of the *New York Life*, and we are done with it for the present. In this instance, also, we quote from an insurance organ for the reason already mentioned; at least, we quote what has been adopted by one, only premising that we have to return our thanks to the publisher, not only for cheerfully permitting us to examine his files, but courteously affording us every possible facility for doing so. In the number of the *Spectator* for May, 1874, the case alluded to is introduced as follows:

"DOES DEATH CAUSED BY INTEMPERANCE VITIATE A LIFE POLICY?"

"The *Cincinnati Gazette* contains the following reference to a life insurance suit which involved a large amount of money (\$22,700), and brought into adjudication the question of the use of liquors and opium as medicines in connection with the validity of a life insurance policy:

"*Harriet La Boyteaux vs. The New York Life Insurance Company*. As stated in a previous report this was a suit upon three policies of insurance issued upon the life of the plaintiff's husband, *La Fayette La Boyteaux*, by the defendants. During the trial of the case, the defendants abandoned their first ground of defence—namely, that the policies were voided by the false representations of the temperate habits of the deceased, and relied upon the ground that death was caused by the use of intoxicating liquors and opium. Evidence was introduced on the part of the plaintiff tending to show that the deceased met his death from unskillful treatment, neglect, and overdose of opium, while lying sick in New Orleans of a disease from which he was then recovering. The court, in charging the jury, held that if a policy is, by its provisions, to be void, if the insured shall die by reason of intemperance in the use of intoxicating liquors, it must appear that intemperance is the paramount and approximate cause of death. If the insured gets drunk, and dies from it, though by proper attendance and medical skill, he might have recovered, he dies from the use of intoxicating drink. Being neglected does not make him any the less dying from that cause. But, if he gets drunk, and would recover but for medicines administered, instead of helping, kill him, in his condition, then he does not die from the use of intoxicating drink but from another cause. The use of intoxicating liquors or opium contemplated in these policies is the voluntary use by the insured to such an excessive degree as to cause death, and has no reference to the administration of either or both to the insured when sick from any cause, as medicines, though medical administration may cause death.

This use, if within the letter, is not within the spirit or meaning of that clause. The jury returned a verdict for the plaintiff for the amount claimed, with interest, \$22,700."

Companies who have justice and right on their side have but little to fear, even if they are sued. Both judges and juries are, to a great extent, discarding the prejudices which they used to entertain against insurance companies; that is, if we assume it to be true that they have not been misrepresented in this respect. Of several cases recently reported, in which insurance companies were sued without sufficient grounds, and in which judgment has been delivered in their favor, we select two as illustrations: one is that of *Howard vs. the Continental Life*, of this city; the other that of *Mary C. Busby vs. The North American Life*, also of this city. In the former case, the plaintiff got judgment, but the defendant, conscious that wrong had been done it, appealed, and the judgment of the court below was reversed. A sufficient idea of the drift of the case may be had from the following concluding extract from the judgment of the Court of Appeals of California:

"Primarily, the whole of the annual premium was payable in advance. Passing the other incidents, the consideration for the policy was the payment of the whole of this premium; if it was not paid, the policy was to lapse. But the assured had the option (the company consenting) to pay thrice-yearly in advance. In the first case, there was to be no obligation to pay the sum insured unless the whole premium was paid; in the second, no such obligation unless each thrice-yearly payment was made as it became due. In both cases, the company was entitled to receive the whole annual premium as the consideration for insurance during the year. Such was the contract, and we see nothing inequitable in its terms. The subtraction of the installments, which would have been due if the assured had continued to live, was the only way in which the company could be placed in a like position, with respect to the assured, to that they occupied with respect to others who had paid the whole of the annual premium in advance."

The case against the North America was somewhat similar, but more complicated. The latter came before the Maryland Court of Appeals at its last (April) term. An extract or two from the opinion of the Court, delivered by Judge Alvey, will place our readers in possession of the main facts. We take these pains because there are a great many who still think that no matter how much policy-holders may violate their part of the contract, they will be pretty sure to obtain a verdict if they sue. But we quote:

"The policy sued on was issued in 1869 by the appellee, an insurance company located and doing business in the City of New York, having a branch office in the City of Baltimore. Its branch office was in charge of a general agent, who does not appear to have had any authority to issue policies in the name of the appellee, but he received applications for policies, and received from the home office in New York executed policies, to be delivered to the parties insured, and he was authorized to receive premiums upon delivery of policies, and renewal premiums upon delivery of receipts executed and furnished from the home office. The contract

between the appellant and appellee, which is evidenced by the policy, was made directly between the parties thereto, without reference to the authority of the agent.

"Among the terms and stipulations of the policy, and with reference to which the contract was made, are the following: 'And it is also understood and agreed by the assured that, in case the said premium shall not be paid on or before the date hereinbefore mentioned for the payment thereof, then, and in every such case, the said company shall not be liable for the payment of the sum assured, or any part thereof, and this policy shall cease and determine.' 'The premiums are always due on the several days stipulated in the policy, and all risk to the company commences at the time of the actual payment of the first premium, without regard to the date of the policy (unless otherwise stipulated in the policy), and continues until the day named in the policy for the payment of the next premium, at 12 o'clock, noon (or within thirty days thereafter), and no longer. No premium will be received by the company, continuing any risk, after the day named in the policy for the payment of such premium, or within thirty days thereof, unless the insured is in perfect health, and the risk continued at the entire option of the company, and no payment of premium is binding on the company unless the same is acknowledged by a printed receipt, signed by an officer of the company. All receipts of the company at any time for premiums past due, except as above, are viewed by the parties in interest as acts of courtesy of the company, and in no case to be considered a precedent, or a waiver or the forfeiture of the policy, according to the conditions expressed therein.'

"Premiums had all been paid and receipted for until that due on the 20th of June 1872, and this last premium was paid to the general agent in Baltimore, on the 23th of June, 1872, and at the time a receipt in the usual form given, as of the date of the 21st of June, 1872. The amount of the premium thus received by the agent was remitted by him to the appellee, on or about the 1st of July following, in the regular course of business, without any communication, however, of the fact that it had been received of the appellant, after the time when it was due by the terms of the policy. The husband of the appellant, on whose life the policy was issued, died on the 14th of July, 1872."

A very important principle is involved in this case. Very few, if any, insurance companies authorize their agents to renew lapsed policies on any conditions; those, therefore, who pay premiums to agents after their policies have lapsed, according to the terms of the contract, do so at their own risk, for such late premiums do not bind the companies. On this subject the Maryland Court of Appeals proceeds:

"The principle seems to be well settled that, where the authority of the agent does not extend to making a new contract of insurance, he cannot waive a forfeiture and revive a contract that has expired. This question is decided in a well-considered case in the Supreme Court of Connecticut, where it was held, in an action on a life policy which declared that it was not to be binding until countersigned by the agent and delivered and the advanced premium paid, and these were the only words expressive of the agent's authority, that he was not authorized to accept a subsequent premium after the time at which the policy expired by reason of the non-payment of such premium at the proper time (*Bouton vs. the Amer. Mut. Life Ins. Co.*, 25 Conn. 542). The court, in the course of its opinion in that case, said: 'We think that he (the agent) was not empowered to receive any premium which was not paid according to the requirements of the policy—that is, in advance. That instrument was his sole guide in regard to what he should do under it. The contract was made by the defendants, and not by him, excepting in the capacity of

their agent, he was not authorized to alter or vary it, or depart in any respect from it, or dispense with the fulfillment of its conditions by the insured, or discharge it, or revive it after it had, by its term, ceased to be obligatory on his principal by a waiver of a compliance with its provisions or otherwise. These must be done by the parties to the contract. He was only authorized to act in pursuance of it, and then so far only as it gave him authority. He could exercise only the power delegated to him, and no power is delegated to him to depart from the terms of the policy."

These were chiefly the reasons that influenced the court before which the case was first tried to give a verdict in favor of the company. Indeed, no other verdict or judgment would have been just or fair. So thought the Court of Appeals, which affirms the judgment of the court below as follows:

"Upon the whole case we are clearly of opinion that the court below committed no error in granting the instruction to the jury that there was no evidence before them upon which they could find that the forfeited policy had ever been revived."

Even this brief outline of the two cases shows clearly that the Continental and the North America entered court with right and fairness on their side. But can the same be said of the cases of the New York Life and Mutual Life referred to above?

Doubtless, many of our readers remember some of the onslaughts which the insurance organs used to make on us regularly after the issue of each number of the National Quarterly. They evidently thought they could frighten us—at least, they persuaded their employers they could. But now, for some years past, they have kindly let us alone. We are much obliged for their "forbearance," although it would make no particular difference to us whether they abused us or not. We confess we rather prefer, however, to see that they now devote their chief attention to vilifying each other.

With two or three exceptions, each insurance editor denounces all his scores of brethren as scoundrels, liars, blackmailers, &c., &c.* As for any new parties who attempt to criticise an insurance company that "does the right thing" for the "insurance press," wo be to them, whether they be "outside editors" or insurance superintendents, insurance commissioners, &c., &c.

We have several illustrations of this now before us, but one or two will be sufficient for our purpose. It seems the insurance commissioner for California has made some unfavorable remarks on a concern called the World Mutual Life—an affair the moribund character of which we have indicated on several occasions in these pages. We know

* Thus, for example, the Philadelphia branch of the fraternity is complimented by the Insurance Times as follows:

"Well it may, for in that provincial town there are now no less than seven regular insurance journals, besides *countless daily and weekly rumpuses*, which are quite as hungry as the others, but whose business is not confined to preying upon insurance companies."

nothing, whatever, of this commissioner, never heard of the man before. In giving the following brief extract from a long article in the Insurance Times for the present month, in the largest type of that journal, we merely want to present a sample of the sort of "criticism" made by our insurance editor.

"A DESPICABLE INSURANCE COMMISSIONER.

"The majority of political blackguards, whose unscrupulous partisanship has secured them profitable positions under government, have sense and decency enough to pay an external regard to official decorum. While discharging the duties of their office they put their brutal instincts and habits under some restraint, and reserve their profanity and ruffianism for the bar-room, groggery, gambling-hell, or other congenial haunt, where they are at home and in their natural element. But Insurance Commissioner Foard, of California, disdains to thus belie himself. He is no respecter of persons, places, or proprieties. His intense coarseness and vulgarity are in the grain, and display themselves on all occasions. He has no more conception of official dignity than the swine have of poetic sublimity."

This may seem rather rough, but it is mild and courteous compared to some passages which occur farther on as the writer warms up in his righteous indignation. And be it remembered that the Insurance Times ranks among the "most respectable" and "most influential" of the insurance press, and that, in the sort of "literary ability" the quack companies want and appreciate, in their organ it has no superior.

Before entering into any particulars, comparing the good with the bad or the indifferent, we will quote a passage or two from the report of our state superintendent, which did not reach us in time for examination in our last number. We do not regard Mr. Chapman as by any means a profound thinker on the subject of life insurance; at the same time, some of his views claim attention, not that they will be new to our readers, but because they are just. We will not ask any one to remember whether we have not again and again, during the past decade, made similar remarks and suggestions; nor shall we desire it to be borne in mind how often it has been pretended, by the parties chiefly interested, that we did them grievous injustice. The following passage will speak for itself:

"DISSOLUTION—AMALGAMATION—RECUPERATION.

"During the year eight active New York life insurance companies were examined by this Department. Such examinations, in some instances, brought up very embarrassing questions. The Superintendent found himself face to face with these: Should the company be placed in the hands of a receiver? Ought it to be reinsured? Can it recuperate if neither of these courses be taken? Receivership, amalgamation, recuperation; these were the alternatives.

"The strict letter of the law in some cases indicated the first course, and left no discretion. It was necessarily obeyed, no matter what the consequences. But it is believed that in no other way are the interests of policy holders affected so injuriously as in this. Emphatically, in the case of a Life insurance corporation, where the equities are so variable, and where so many new and unsettled ques-

tions may call for the decision of the highest courts, a receivership is Death. After the worms are through with their work, there is nothing left but dust. It is indeed the last possible thing to be contemplated, and yet, like hanging, it may be sometimes a necessity. Every thing else, which the law permits, should be tried first, however, unless the future gives no promise of hope.

"But little better is amalgamation. *History indicates this to be the marriage of disease to health, or of one disease to another, more often than otherwise the latter.* Exceptions, of course, have existed, but it has been too frequently a foul and adulterous connection—a union of imbecility with debauchery. Pecuniary considerations are sometimes presumed to equalize differences, but if paid to officers or brokers how fraudulent, and even if to the company, *how fatal, alas, experience too plainly teaches !*"

Long before Mr. Chapman occupied his present position we had many a time warned our readers against the consequences indicated in the above extract. But let us hear him further:

"But there are cases of consumption, which can by any possibility walk but one path, and that leads only to the grave. There is a 'rate of mortality' which no 'interest on investments' can overcome. So, too, there may be instances where fraud has impregnated the whole corporate system as with scrofula, which in some form, soon or late, is sure to prove fatal. Annual statements *falsely made*, and given character by *perjury*, whenever such is the case, if ever, would be symptoms of this disease. In both of these cases, the sooner the end comes the better for all concerned. A corporation hopelessly insolvent has no right, not merely to take new risks, but to hold out to its insured *false and delusive hopes in order to obtain premiums upon the old*. Officers are faithless to their trusts, if there are any such, who, possessed of a knowledge of the certainty of dissolution, continue to solicit new or renewal premiums. And there is no excuse for want of knowledge. They are dealing with the most sacred of obligations. They are bound to know if there is a chance of repudiation, and to stop doing new business in season. Upon them should be visited *all the ignominy of a failure, if, for the sake of a few dollars of salary, they continue for a single day to rob the widow and orphan.*"

This needs no comment from us. There is not one of twenty-five volumes—fifty numbers—of this journal which does not contain the portraits, in miniature or life size, of just such "officers" as Mr. Chapman alludes to; that is, officers who "falsely" make annual statements, "given character *by perjury*," who hold out "false and delusive hopes *in order to obtain premiums*," who, in a word, "rob the widow and orphan."

We must now take leave abruptly of the New York Report, and give what attention we can to the Massachusetts Report. In turning over the leaves of the latter we find we shall have to confine our remarks to its analytical tables. Some of these are highly instructive and significant, although rather meagre. As a whole, it is greatly inferior to the reports we used to get from Mr. Elizur Wright and his immediate successor. Still, that before us should open the eyes of many—indeed the eyes of all who are not hopelessly blind.

Comparing the Massachusetts companies with each other, as they stand in the annual report of the Massachusetts commissioner, we find

some significant periods of figures—periods which, it will be seen, fully prove the correctness of comparisons we have heretofore made in these pages on more than one occasion. It may be remembered we have said on several occasions that the New England Mutual enjoys the public confidence to a greater extent, has the means of doing more good, and really does more good, than all the other Massachusetts companies put together.

By this we do not mean to disparage the other companies of that enlightened, industrious and energetic commonwealth; but simply to show that in this as well as in other comparisons we were guided by the facts as we proved them in our researches, and that, whatever may have been supposed to the contrary—whatever has been pretended by those whom our comparisons do not suit—we indulged in no exaggeration.

In order to place this beyond cavil, we will make a little table of our own. We are not a very skilful mechanic, it is true, but we have a tolerable idea of the proportion which the different parts of a structure should bear to each other; if not, we have no objection that our ignorance in the matter be exposed. Well, in the good State of Massachusetts there are five life companies. We will place four of these side by side, with certain of their periods of figures, respectively, thus:

		Surplus as regards	
		Total Assets.	Policy Holders.
Berkshire,	- - - - -	\$2,517,368.68	\$178,253.65
John Hancock,	- - - - -	2,545,357.40	43,307.23
Massachusetts Mutual,	- - - - -	4,932,312.03	410,022.96
State Mutual,	- - - - -	1,624,285.48	230,584.78
Total,	- - - - -	\$11,669,403.59	\$862,668.62
New England Mutual,	- - - - -	\$12,665,119.81	\$1,340,122.31

This shows that the New England Mutual has considerably *more* assets and a *larger* surplus fund than the other four companies put together. Our readers need not be informed at this day that there is no company anywhere more judiciously or more ably managed than the New England Mutual. It is now in its thirtieth year. The gentleman who manages it has been connected with it since the first day of its existence. Several years ago he succeeded, in its presidency, Judge Phillips, who had been editor of the North American Review, and whose writings on insurance are still highly valued in Europe as well as in this country. President Stevens is also a thoughtful and vigorous writer. No one understands the principles of life insurance more thoroughly than he; at the same time, no one is more assiduous and indefatigable in seeking information on the subject wherever it is to be found. In illustration of this we may remark, in passing, that Mr. Stevens is at this moment in England observing the working of the principal life companies there.

No company has been less affected by the "panic," or by the temporary

revulsion against life insurance, caused by those mock underwriters who have so much abused the public confidence, than the Manhattan Life. Its earnest, faithful labor for twenty-four years in the good cause, without the slightest blemish on its reputation, has had its effect on the American people, who, whatever may be their faults or shortcomings, are ever disposed to award merit in any form its appropriate reward; but especially that merit which is based on unswerving integrity and fidelity to duty. The Manhattan affords a striking and interesting illustration of the fact that none can be seriously injured in this country by the envious or jealous calumnies of their rivals, or by the false representations of their enemies, as long as they remain faithful to the duties they assume to perform, and persist in working intelligently in that spirit. The figures in the last Massachusetts report exhibit the company in the most favorable light as a "period" or two will show. Thus, for instance, quiet as the Manhattan keeps, unpretending as it is, the number of its policies in force at the close of the last fiscal year was 13,085, insuring forty-two millions (\$42,000,529). At the same time its assets amounted to nearly nine millions (\$8,875,984.51), and its surplus as "regards policy-holders" to considerably more than a million (\$1,254,947.48), its income for 1873 exceeding two millions (\$2,128,071.05). None capable of judging, who know the three principal officers of the Manhattan, wonder that the company is thus solid and prosperous. But it has, also, two general agents, than whom none understand the principal of life insurance better, or are disposed to carry out those principles in the plenitude of their beneficence more faithfully.

But let us make a little comparison *more nostro*. The Equitable announces in large capitals surrounding a large cut of its "granite palace Assets twenty-three millions" (\$23,000,000), Annual Income ten millions (\$10,000,000). The Manhattan makes no such pretensions or pompous display, but how do the two companies compare in the Massachusetts Report. Let the following figures answer:

Equitable surplus	-	-	-	-	\$1,101,155.28.
Manhattan	"	-	-	-	\$1,254,947.48.

We are really sorry for Mr. Hyde, who used to manage the Equitable very judiciously until, in an evil hour, he took up with such company as the Winstons, Battersons, Whites, etc. His recent plans have evidently not had the desired effect. One of these consists in having "editorial" articles in some of the "religious weeklies" very nearly, if not quite, every week. These articles are headed "Life Insurance," but, like the refrain of a song, all end with some one or other of the great peculiar features of "the Equitable Assurance," or the "profound sagacity," and various other wonderful accomplishments of its manager! We are certainly not in the habit of reading the sort of "religious" papers that do this sort of work. But we give an instance, as is our wont. A

friend, speaking to us, not many days ago, about the various organs of the Equitable, asked us are we in the habit of reading the Independent. "Very rarely, indeed—never, except as a 'religious curiosity,'" was the reply. Well, let you examine the Independent, and, if you find one number of it issued since January last without an "editorial," which begins with the great blessings of life insurance, and ends with the information that the only way to realize those blessings to their full extent is to secure a policy from the Equitable Assurance Society!—never take my word again. We confess we have not thought it worth while to make the examination suggested. We would fain hope, for Mr. Hyde's sake, that our friend must have been mistaken. Surely, about two score of insurance organs, all of which ferociously vie with each other in eulogizing himself, and the Equitable Assurance, ought to be enough for any one stomach which is not in a condition so decidedly morbid that the family physician should be called in at once.

The Phoenix Life, of Hartford, was never in a more prosperous condition than it is now. We do not mean that it issues so large a number of policies as it used when the times were more favorable than they are at present—that is, when money was abundant, and the prestige of life insurance had not yet suffered from the operations of the charlatans. This would be something miraculous, and miracles are things that do not often occur at the present day; nor do the managers of the Phoenix ever pretend to such, if, indeed, they believe in any other miracles than the results of energetic, intelligent effort and perseverance. Be this as it may, the Company has issued one hundred policies a month on an average during the summer months, which shows what a strong hold on public confidence they continue to retain. That this confidence is well founded there are various proofs, some of which we have taken great pleasure in presenting from time to time. It will be sufficient now to refer to such official statistics as we happen to have at hand. Turning to an abstract of the report of the Massachusetts commissioner, recently issued, for the year ending December, 1873, we find some figures which speak for themselves. Thus, for instance, under the heading, "New Policies in 1873," we find the figures 9,722, and in the next column, under the head of "Amount"—that is, the amount insured by those new policies—we find \$19,105,495. Passing over a few columns we find, under the head of "Total Assets," \$8,949,132.84; and under the head of "Surplus as regards policy-holders," \$116,429.81. If to these items the Company's income for the same year be added—that is, \$3,521,240.57—we think it will be easy to understand that the public has a solid basis for its confidence. Yet neither the president nor the secretary of the Phoenix put on any pompous airs, but are as courteous, work as hard, as late and as early, as ever.

But, in order to understand the above figures of the Phoenix, it is necessary for the uninitiated to compare them with other figures. Doubtless, some of our readers thought us very uncharitable when we made the following observation in our March number (1874):

"We are told that 'large oaks from little acorns spring,' but, if ever an oak, large or small, dwindled back to the acorn state, such a phenomenon may be witnessed in Hartford before many years, under the wise auspices of Mr. S. H. White. Like many others of about the same calibre, Mr. White used to do very well while he was secretary, his most important duties then consisting in writing puffs of the Charter Oak, in questionable English, for the country newspapers. But, promoted to the rank and pay of vice-president, as a reward for his skill in that sort of thing, and allowed to take Mr. Walkley's place in the management of the company, he is determined to make his mark, and he has already succeeded in making several—such as that noted above."

What is alluded to in the closing remark is a suit against the company, which seemed to us rather an ugly affair for the "Charter Oak," and both judge and jury appeared to have taken the same view of it.* We had not then before us the official figures, indicating the precise condition of the company, although we knew it could not be very good. Now we have the figures in the report of the Massachusetts commissioner, and what do they tell us? Let them be interrogated: "Surplus as regards policy-holders, \$23,342.56." This, be it observed, is according to the company's own showing. Now, supposing that three persons, each insured for \$10,000, should die while the "surplus" of the company is at this low ebb, would the "fine marble palace" save it? Why, even the "Globe Mutual," the poor Brooklyn Life, and the still poorer Homœopathic Mutual have each a larger "surplus" than the "Charter Oak."

The Knickerbocker Life makes a good figure in the Massachusetts report. Mr. Nichols is fully verifying our prediction. He has already infused new vitality into the company. As its agent, he was confessedly without a rival in persuading intelligent men and women to insure their lives in the Knickerbocker; as its president, he bids fair to prove still more eloquent and successful in his peculiar mode of argument. We see he has just returned from a tour in New England, where he has been imparting his own energetic, progressive spirit to his agents. We learn also that he has engaged the services of Mr. John F. Collins (late secretary of the Republic Life of Chicago), and appointed him manager of agencies. Apart from being thoroughly versed in life insurance, Mr. Collins possesses the culture of a gentleman; and he is already at work, fully determined to succeed. In the language of one who knows the Knickerbocker well, and is by no means prone to exaggeration, "the company is getting along quietly, and vigorously working upward in quality." Although the periods of figures oppo-

* (Vide N. Q. R., No. LVI., pp. 402-3.)

site to its name in the report before us bespeak abundant strength and duration, we do not hesitate to say from the best "internal evidence" that one year hence—when the plan of Mr. Nichols has had time to develop itself—we shall have still more satisfactory "periods."

Some time ago the Security Life used to be compared to the Knickerbocker Life. This was when the former was much more judiciously managed than it is now; then the comparison was not unfavorable to it. How the case stands now, taking the Massachusetts report as a criterion, is as follows:

Security's surplus as regards policy holders,	- -	\$197,729.87
Knickerbocker's " " " " "	-	394,496.47

The puffers inform us that the Brooklyn Life—Bouck's company—is a great affair—"solid," "progressive," etc. The Massachusetts commissioner, however, tells a very different story. The United States Life seeks no eulogies; its manager has much more faith in silent, persistent work, and allowing the results to speak for themselves. Then, comparing the eulogised company, and the non-eulogised with each other, we find the following in the official report:

Brooklyn Life surplus, etc.,	- - - -	\$47,067.09
United States " " - - - -	- - - -	567,073.42

That is, the United States has a larger surplus than eleven companies like the Brooklyn; a larger surplus than *twenty-two* companies like the Charter Oak under White auspices.

The Insurance Times, for September, has two columns—a full page—of a eulogy on the Metropolitan Life. The moment we saw this we thought something was wrong, especially when we read the following: "These statements will clearly show why the growth of this company's popularity is unparalleled." In order to learn what the difficulty is, or why such "statements" are deemed necessary just now, we turn to the Massachusetts report, and find that the "surplus" of the Metropolitan Life on its own showing is \$125,918.99—a sum which, need we say, would be exhausted by three or four claims by death of ordinary amount. We turn from this "unparalleled" company to the New York Continental, whose surplus we find in the same report to be \$320,658.96, nearly three times as much as that of the Metropolitan!

The president of the Provident Life and Trust, of Philadelphia, has a turn for investigation and research; and like others of his class he has much more sympathy than hatred for critics. He is now traveling in Europe, his chief object being to examine into the different plans of the chief life companies of England, France, and Germany, with the view of adopting in his own company whatever may seem an improvement or advantage. In the mean time he is well represented at home,

and we are assured, on good authority, that, "notwithstanding the great depression in business for several months of the year, there is good reason to believe that it will have done quite as well in 1874 as it did in 1873." Last year its mortality was remarkably light, and thus far, at least, it has been equally favorable this year. This is ascribed to the high standard of medical examination, and we think very justly.

It were well for several other Philadelphia companies to emulate the example of the Provident Life and Trust in this as well as in other respects. We suppose they cannot help not being so intelligent or energetic, but they only require common sense and honesty to imitate it in the matter of economy and prudence, still keeping clear of their present characteristic "penny wise and pound foolish policy."

The American Life, of Philadelphia, is another company which contributes in no slight degree to vindicate the underwriters of the Quaker City from the charges often preferred of not being able to enter into the true spirit of life insurance. It is also one of the few which the late "panic" has failed to weaken or discourage. The company has a good head. Mr. Hill is said to have a knack of bringing in new applicants, which some of his brethern—those of the "Penn Mutual," for instance—would do well to imitate, and their doing so would profit widows and orphans.

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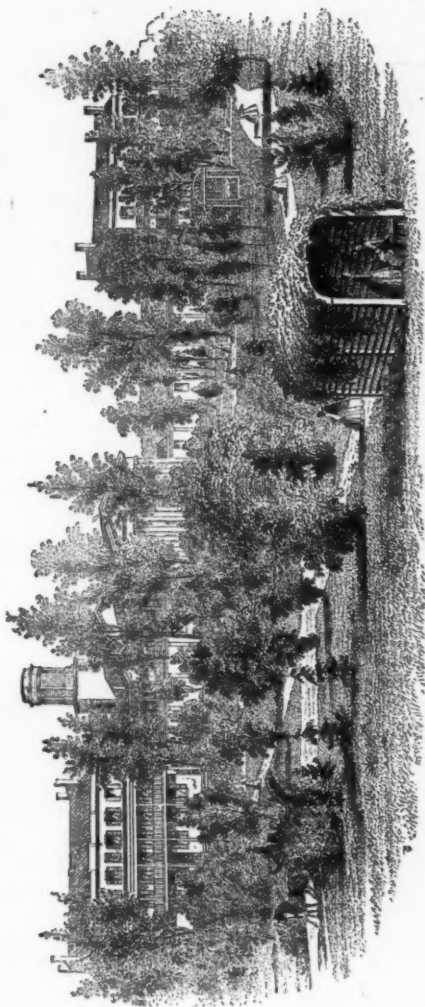
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Distribution of Surplus in 30 yrs., 1,600,000

Losses paid in 30 years, \$7,500,000.

Policies of all descriptions are issued by this Company.

Distributions of Surplus are to be made annually, and payable as the Premiums fall due.

Printed documents pertaining to the subject, together with the report of the Company for the past year, and Tables of Premiums, supplied gratis, or forwarded free of expense, by addressing

SAMUEL S. STEVENS,

AGENT AND ATTORNEY FOR THE COMPANY,

No. 110 BROADWAY,

Cor. Pine Street,

NEW YORK.

CONTINENTAL LIFE INSURANCE COMPY

OF

Nos. 22, 24 and

PRESIDENT,
L. W. FROST.SECRETARY,
J. P. ROGERS.MEDICAL EXAMINER,
E. HERRICK, M. D.

ANNUAL STATEMENT.



NEW YORK.

26 Nassau Street.

VICE-PRESIDENT,
M. B. WYNKOOP.ACTUARY,
S. C. CHANDLER, JR.COUNSEL,
WHITNEY & BETTS.

JANUARY 1st, 1874.

Income, 1873—Premium Receipts.....	\$2,548,735 32	
Interest and Rents received and accrued.....	383,865 93	
		\$2,932,601 25
Disbursements.....		645,031 93
Assets.....	\$6,539,325 62	
Total Liabilities.....	5,867,684 00	
Surplus as to Policy Holders.....		\$671,641 62
Number of Policies issued in 1873.....		7,220
Amount insured in 1873.....		\$13,894 62
Whole number of Policies in force.....		27,931
Amount Insured.....		\$57,791,483 00

THE UNITED STATES LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY

IN THE CITY OF NEW YORK,

Nos. 261, 262 & 263 Broadway,

Corner Warren Street.

INCORPORATED 1850.

NO EXPERIMENT, BUT AN ESTABLISHED INSTITUTION.

Assets, - - - - -	\$4,000,000
Income, - - - - -	1,350,000
Surplus to Policy Holders, N. Y. Standard, - - -	991,558 83

PRINCIPAL FEATURES:

ABSOLUTE SECURITY.

ECONOMICAL MANAGEMENT.

LIBERALITY TO INSURED.

All Forms of Life and Endowment Policies issued.

JOHN E. DeWITT, President.

CHAS. E. PEASE, Secretary.

WILLIAM D. WHITING, Actuary.

C. P. FRALEIGH, Assistant Secretary.

NICHOLAS DEGROOT, Cashier.

Fair Contracts made with first-class men for Agencies.

 TWENTY-FOURTH ANNUAL STATEMENT

OF THE

AMERICAN
Life Insurance Company

OF

PHILADELPHIA,

S. E. Cor. Fourth and Walnut Sts.,

*FOR THE YEAR ENDING DECEMBER 31ST, 1873.***RECEIPTS.**

Premiums received during the year.....	\$1,175,737 39
Interest received from Investments and Rents.....	254,623 56
	<hr/>
	\$1,420,360 95
Surplus Premiums returned to Insured and Dividends....	\$306,743 72
Assets January 1, 1874, \$4,450,266 75.	

GEORGE W. HILL, President.

GEORGE NUGENT, Vice-President.

JOHN C. SIMS, Actuary.

JOHN S. WILSON, Secretary and Treasurer.

J. NEWTON WALKER, M. D., } Medical Examiners.
JOHN F. BIRD, M. D., }

STRICTLY MUTUAL.

ECONOMICAL.

PROVIDENT
Life and Trust Company,
OF PHILADELPHIA.

Incorporated 3d Mo., 22, 1865.

FIRST.—Low Rate of mortality consequent upon great care in the selection of lives, and the large proportion of Friends among its members.

SECOND.—Economy in expenses.

THIRD.—Prudent investment of money.

FOURTH.—Liberality to the insured; as, for example, its NON-FORFEITURE SYSTEM, which is more liberal than that guaranteed by the Massachusetts law.

The Provident is a very popular and easy company to solicit for. It commends itself. **AGENTS WANTED.**

TWENTY-THIRD ANNUAL REPORT

OF THE

MANHATTAN

LIFE INSURANCE COMPANY,

OF NEW YORK,

NOS. 156 & 158 BROADWAY.

January 1, 1874.

INCOME FOR THE YEAR 1873.

For Premiums, Extra Premiums, &c.....	\$1,596,381 27
For Interest.....	531,752 78
For Interest, &c., accrued.....	265,101 01
	<hr/>
	\$2,393,172 00

DISBURSEMENTS.

Paid for Claims by Death on Policies and Payment of Annuities	\$679,187 16
Paid for Dividends, Return Premiums, Purchased Policies, and Interest on Dividend.....	494,072 19
	<hr/>
Total amount returned to Policy-Holders.....	\$1,173,259 35
Paid for Expenses, Salaries, Taxes, Rev. Stamps, Medical Examiners' Fees, and Commissions...	313,677 93
	<hr/>
	\$1,486,937 28

ASSETS.

Cash in Bank, Trust Co., and on hand.....	\$356,580 33
Bonds and Mortgages, and interest accrued on same	4,355,426 08
Loans on Policies in force.....	2,293,623 00
United States and New York State Stocks.....	726,555 53
Quarterly and Semi Annual Premiums deferred, and Premiums and Interest in course of collection and transmission	579,733 56
Temporary Loans on Stocks and Bonds (market value of the securities, \$844,257).....	629,950 00
Interest due to date, and all other Property.....	70,598 03
	<hr/>
Gross Assets.....	\$9,009,462 33
Reserve required for all Policies in force, Carlisle 4 per cent.....	\$6,880,151 84
Claims by death not yet due.....	264,970 00
Dividends unpaid and all other liability.....	197,763 54
	<hr/>
	7,342,835 38

Undivided Surplus.....\$1,665,626 95

The Manhattan invites a comparison with other Companies as to the following particulars :

1. The large Proportion of its Assets to Liabilities.
2. The small Ratio of Expenses to Income.
3. Care in the Selection of Risks.
4. Prudence and Skill of Administration.
5. Justice and Liberality in the Payment of Losses and Dividends.
6. The even and uninterrupted Success of its Operations for a quarter of a Century.

PRESIDENT, VICE-PRESIDENT, SECRETARY, ACTUARY,

HENRY STOKES. C. Y. WEMPLE. J. L. HALSEY. S. N. STEBBINS.

PHOENIX MUTUAL Life Insurance Company,

HARTFORD, CONN.

January 1st, 1874.

Policies Issued, 1873, 9,522. | Income, 1873, \$3,521,240.57.

The Fourth Company in the U. S. as to amount of New Business in 1873.

ASSETS, securely invested.....	\$9,074,861.34
SURPLUS, free of all liabilities, over	875,000.00
DIVIDENDS, paid to Policy-holders during the year.....	1,070,455.48
INCOME, for the year.....	3,521,240.57
LOSSES, paid during the year.....	932,534.75

COMPARISON OF THE BUSINESS OF 1872 AND 1873.

	Income.	Dividends paid Policy-holders.	Losses by Death.	Net Assets.
1872.....	\$3,413,732.45	\$943,441.71	\$831,116.32	\$8,209,325.07
1873.....	3,521,240.57	1,070,455.48	932,534.75	9,074,861.34

An increase which affords most convincing proof of the growing and well-merited favor with which the Company is regarded by insurers.

The following table exhibits the progress of the Company during the last ten years:

	Policies issued.	Income.	Dividends paid Policy-holders.	Losses by Death.	Net Assets.
1864 and '65... 6,599		\$789,733.00	\$2,388.00	\$117,200.00	\$903,285.00
1866 and '67... 9,919		2,027,651.00	50,222.00	194,050.00	2,218,314.00
1868 and '69... 16,852		4,363,812.00	461,716.00	502,544.00	5,081,975.00
1870 and '71... 19,135		5,963,392.00	1,162,412.00	1,153,056.00	7,510,614.00
1872 and '73... 20,049		6,934,993.02	2,013,897.19	1,763,651.07	9,074,861.34

An examination of the above figures shows that the Company is a progressive one, that it guarantees ample security to its Policy-holders, and that it affords Insurance at the lowest rates. It has also, with the last ten years, paid to its Policy-holders, in Dividends, more than

THREE AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS.

And in losses by death more than

THREE MILLION SEVEN HUNDRED THOUSAND DOLLARS.

And at the same time it has greatly increased its Assets, as well as maintained a large surplus over all Liabilities.

Since the commencement of its business the Company has issued over

EIGHTY-TWO THOUSAND POLICIES.

And has paid to the families of its deceased members nearly

FOUR AND A HALF MILLION DOLLARS.

J. F. BURNS, Sec'y.

E. FESSENDEN, Pres't.

Knickerbocker Life Insurance Company

239 Broadway, New York.

JOHN A. NICHOLS, *President.*
GEO. F. SNIFFEN, *Secretary.*

CHAS. M. HIBBARD, *Actuary.*
HENRY W. JOHNSON, *Counsel.*

TWENTY-FIRST ANNUAL REPORT.

JANUARY 1, 1874.

Net Assets, January 1, 1873.....		\$7,064,137 67
Income, 1873 :		
From Premiums.....	\$2,219,042 05	
“ Interest, Rents, &c.....	465,277 75	2,684,319 80
		<hr/> \$9,748,457 47
DISBURSEMENTS :		
Paid Death Claims.....	\$778,647 53	
“ Matured Endowments, Dividends, Surrendered and Lapsed Policies.....	1,631,624 40	
Total Paid Policy Holders.....	\$2,410,271 93	
Dividend on Stock.....	7,000 00	
Commissions, Taxes, Legal and Medical Fees.....	228,654 61	
Rent, Furniture, Re-insurance, Stationery, and Office Expenses.....	68,517 89	
Salaries.....	57,371 56	2,771,315 99
Net Assets, January, 1874.....		<hr/> \$6,976,641 48
As follows :		
Real Estate—cost.....	\$312,097 11	
Stocks and Bonds—cost.....	468,224 65	
Loans and Collaterals.....	174,355 00	
Loans on Bonds and Mortgages.....	2,385,657 12	
Cash on Hand.....	2,743 15	
“ in Banks and Trust Companies at interest.....	63,625 08	
Premium Loans.....	3,444,105 58	
Furniture, and all other Assets in possession.....	25,833 79	
Add :		<hr/> \$6,976,641 48
Accrued Interest and Rents.....	\$219,117 40	
Unpaid and Deferred Semi-annual and Quarterly Pre- miums.....	646,814 37	
Commuted Commissions.....	202,825 96	
Due from Agents.....	3,915 56	
Profit on Investments.....	37,696 25	
Gross Assets, January 1, 1874.....		<hr/> \$8,087,211 02
LIABILITIES :		
Reserve on all outstanding Policies, Dec. 31, 1873.....	\$6,678,418 29	
Losses reported not yet due.....	131,550 00	
Capital Stock.....	100,000 00	6,909,968 29
Surplus.....		<hr/> \$1,177,242 73

RATIO OF EXPENSES (including taxes) TO TOTAL INCOME, 13-47.

EXTRACTS FROM LEADING JOURNALS.

FOREIGN AND DOMESTIC.

From the Boston Globe.

"Two articles have given us great amusement, that on 'The Puffing Element in American Literature,' and that on 'Pope Alexander VI.' * * * We have read the article with roars of—we trust—innocent laughter. There is something in American Roman Catholics which strangely distinguishes them from their Italian brethren who profess the same faith. *They can swallow anything*; the Italian variety of the species is more critical. Still, we patriotically stand by our countrymen, and shall hereafter inscribe Pope Alexander on the list of our saints. There are ugly charges against him, such as licentiousness, incest, and murder, but we concede that the writer in the National Quarterly has shown that they are ill-founded. It is to be said that the editor of the REVIEW, Dr. Sears, while consenting to print the article, emphatically repudiates its conclusions. He, as a thinker and scholar, is inclined to the common opinion of civilized mankind, that Alexander was a scamp rather than a saint."

From the Cincinnati Chronicle.

"Broad, liberal and learned in its tone and contents, it also fulfills the functions of a high order of journalism by piquant criticism and reviews of current events,"

"The Quarterly gives evidence of continued vitality and enterprise, and occupies a position almost exclusively its own."—*Boston Transcript.*

"The *National Quarterly Review* has achieved a reputation second to no similar periodical in the country, and to the deep learning, rare ability and indefatigable labor of Dr. SEARS, its originator, editor and largest contributor, are we indebted for a publication in all respects honorable to American literature. Subjects discussed in its pages are treated with comprehensive knowledge and impartial criticism, and whether the judgment of the editor accords with that of the reader or not, none will dispute its candor and fair presentation."—*Boston Post.*

"'Our Millionaires and their Influence' is a powerful and well-merited castigation of the mere money-makers, the railroad rogues, the gold-market speculators, who override society in the New World as well as in the Old."—*Phila. Press.*

"It is creditable to our transatlantic friends to sustain a journal which, like the *National Quarterly Review*, possesses the courage to unmask false pretensions, and both the ability and disposition to improve the public taste."—*Edinburgh Scotsman.*

"* * * No one can take up the two American quarterlies without feeling that, while the one is the organ of a clique, and bound down and restrained by the narrowest Puritan sentiments, the other is broad, generous and Catholic in tone, and world-wide in its sympathy. The *North American* and its little sister, the *Atlantic Monthly*, think of the world from what Lord Bacon would have called the Cave, and treat the world as if Boston were really the hub of the universe. The *National Quarterly* takes a bolder standpoint, and from its greater elevation makes juster observations and arrives at more correct conclusions. * * *"—*New York Herald.*

"It certainly exhibits high culture and marked ability."—*London Saturday Review.*

PENNSYLVANIA RAILROAD.

THE GREAT TRUNK LINE

AND

UNITED STATES MAIL ROUTE.

Trains leave New York, from foot of Desbrosses and Cortlandt Streets, as follows :

Express for Harrisburg, Pittsburg, the West, and South, with Pullman Palace Cars attached, 9:30 a. m., 5, and 8:30 p. m. Sunday, 5, and 8:30 p. m.

For Baltimore, Washington, and the South, at 8:40 a. m., 3 and 9 p. m. Sunday, 9 p. m.

Express for Philadelphia, 8:40, 9:30 a. m., 12:30, 3, 4, 5, 7, 8:30, 9 p. m., and 12 night. Sunday, 5, 6:10, 8:30 and 9 p. m. Emigrant and second class, 7 p. m.

For Trenton, at 7:20 a. m., 2, 3:10 and 6:10 p. m. Sunday, 6:10 p. m.

For Newark, at 6, 6:30, 7:20, 7:40, 8, 9, 10, 11 a. m., 12 m., 1, 2, 2:30, 3:10, 3:40, 4:10, 4:30, 5, 5:20, 5:40, 6, 6:10, 6:30, 7, 7:30, 8:10, 10, 11:30 p. m., and 12 night. Sunday, 5:20, 6:10 and 8:10 p. m.

For Elizabeth, 6, 6:30, 7:20, 7:40, 8, 9, 10, 11 a. m., 12 m., 1, 2, 2:30, 3:10, 3:40, 4:10, 4:30, 5:20, 5:40, 6, 6:10, 6:30, 7:30, 8:10, 10, 11:30 p. m., and 12 night. Sunday, 5:20, 6:10 and 8:10 p. m.

For Rahway, 6, 6:30, 7:20, 8, 10 a. m., 12 m., 1, 2, 2:30, 3:10, 3:40, 4:10, 4:30, 5:20, 5:40, 6, 6:10, 6:30, 8:10, 10 p. m., and 12 night. Sunday, 5:20 and 6:10 p. m.

For Woodbridge, Perth Amboy, and South Amboy, 6 and 10 a. m., 2:30, 4:10 and 6 p. m.

For New Brunswick, 7:20 and 8 a. m., 12 m., 2, 3:10, 4:30, 5:20, 6:10, 7 p. m., and 12 night. Sunday, 6:10 p. m.

For East Millstone, 8 a. m., 12 noon, and 4:30 p. m.

For Lambertville and Flemington, 9:30 a. m., and 3 p. m.

For Phillipsburg and Belvidere, 3 and 4 p. m.

Accom. for Bordentown, Burlington, and Camden, 7:20 and 9:30 a. m., 13:30, 2, 3:10, 4 and 6:10 p. m.

For Freehold, 7:20 a. m., 2 and 4 p. m.

For Farmingdale and Squan, 7:20 a. m., and 2 p. m.

For Pemberton and Camden, 6 a. m. and 2:30 p. m.

Trains arrive as follows : From Pittsburg, 6:50 a. m., 12:35 and 7:35 p. m., daily ; 11:35 a. m., daily, except Monday. From Washington and Baltimore, 6:05 a. m., 5:15 and 10:27 p. m. Sunday, 6:05 a. m. and 10:27 p. m. From Philadelphia, 5:22, 6:05, 6:50, 10:15, 11:55, a. m., 2:15, 5:15, 6:05, 8:44, 10:27 p. m. Sunday, 5:22, 6:05, 6:50, 11:55 a. m., and 10:27 p. m.

Ticket Offices, 526, 435, 271 and 944 Broadway ; No. 1 Astor House, and foot of Desbrosses and Cortlandt streets. Emigrant Ticket Office, No. 8 Battery place.

A. J. CASSATT, General Manager.

D. M. BOYD, Jr., Gen. Pass. Agent.



Extracts from Reviews and Notices of recent Numbers.

* * "It shows that if the Schoolmaster is not always abroad, the School Examiner is around; and the way he lifts the veil from educational shams is delightful. The fearlessness, honesty and penetration of this Review entitle it to a high place."—*Christian Standard*.

"Il (the editor) a mérité l'estime de nos savans par d'important travaux comme critique sur la haute education, aussi bien que la littérature."—*Independence Belge, Brussels*.

* * "The place which this Review holds in current American literature is peculiarly its own, the editor bringing to its service not only a fine and fruitful scholarship, but an ardent and apparently irrepressible purpose of contesting the right of living 'shams' to an existence. He does not hesitate to attack whatever seems, in his view, to fall below the standard of its pretense in any department of public interest, especially in that of education; and the volumes of this Review bristle with thorns sharpened with an artistic as well as a dexterous hand. In the current issue Dr. Sears turns his critical pen against certain 'Institutes, Academies, and Seminaries on the Hudson,' on which judgment is passed, favorably or unfavorably, in vigorous style." * *—*Boston Post*.

* * "There is a paper here upon 'Institutes, Academies, and Seminaries on the Hudson,' which bears internal evidence of thorough truthfulness, and may be expected to 'flutter the Volscians' on the banks of the North River. There appears a reason for every statement of commendation or the reverse."—*Philadelphia Press*.

* * "The editor of the Quarterly, Dr. Edward I. Sears, exposes most humorously the ignorance of some of his assailants."—*New York Hebrew Leader*.

"The National Quarterly Review, of which Dr. Edward I. Sears is editor and chief contributor, is by far the best of all our American quarterlies, and is at least equal to any of the English. Brilliant, learned, and strictly impartial, it has from its very commencement waged ceaseless war against every species of bigotry and intolerance, fraud, corruption, and imposture."—*Philadelphia Inquirer*.

"It is conducted with rare ability, scholarship, and candor of literary criticism. It gives special attention, over and above the usual province of Reviews, to the exposure of too pretentious seminaries of learning and to discriminating notices of insurance companies. As to the latter, quite notably, the editor has shown much sagacity and foresight, in the course of the past few years, and underwriters can but find it profitable—though not always to all of them pleasant—to give at least this part of each number of the *National Quarterly* their careful attention."—*Cincinnati Gazette*.

"Critical, fearless, and independent, this scholarly publication stands at the head of its class. Each number is prepared by the editor, Edward I. Sears, LL.D., with patient and even painstaking care."—*Boston Globe*.

"Some particularly fearless and original opinions heretofore expressed in the *National* have established an almost personal feeling of respect and esteem between its readers and itself. Of this kidney are the views expressed by the author of the paper in the present (December) number on 'Our Millionaires and their Influence.' The writer puts into words what many of us have been feeling for a long time, that the sluicing of money into the channels guided by a few capitalists is going to have the gravest effect upon national honor and progress."—*Philadelphia Bulletin*.

"The editor, Edward I. Sears, LL.D., has a scholarly mind coupled with a critical spirit, which gives the Review a decided character and a value above those which never express a decided opinion, but shift with the current. There is a wholesome spirit of freedom presiding over its columns, which the thoughtful will appreciate. The country needs the *National Quarterly*, for it is, *sui generis*, moving in an orbit peculiarly its own."—*Providence Post*.

Two Dollars (\$2.00) will be paid by the Editor for each copy of the first or second number of the National Quarterly Review.

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FOREIGN POSTAGE.

The maximum Postage on each number of the NATIONAL QUARTERLY REVIEW to the principal countries of Europe is as follows: to England, Ireland, or Scotland, 30 cents; to France, 20 cents; to any of the German States, 30 cents; to Belgium or Holland, 40 cents; to Italy or Switzerland, 50 cents.—The subscription to any of these countries is in proportion to the postage—the amount WITHOUT POSTAGE being \$5 a year, payable in advance.

N. B.—Postage having to be paid in advance to New York City subscribers, the city subscription is \$5.25.

The price of each back number, published two years or more, is \$1.50.

Those subscribing directly—not through Agents—would oblige the Editor by letting him know when any number to which they are entitled fails to reach them.

To Contributors.

All articles should be received at least a month before the month of publication. Contributions from all parts are equally welcome; they will be accepted or rejected solely according to their merits or demerits, their suitableness or unsuitableness.

